





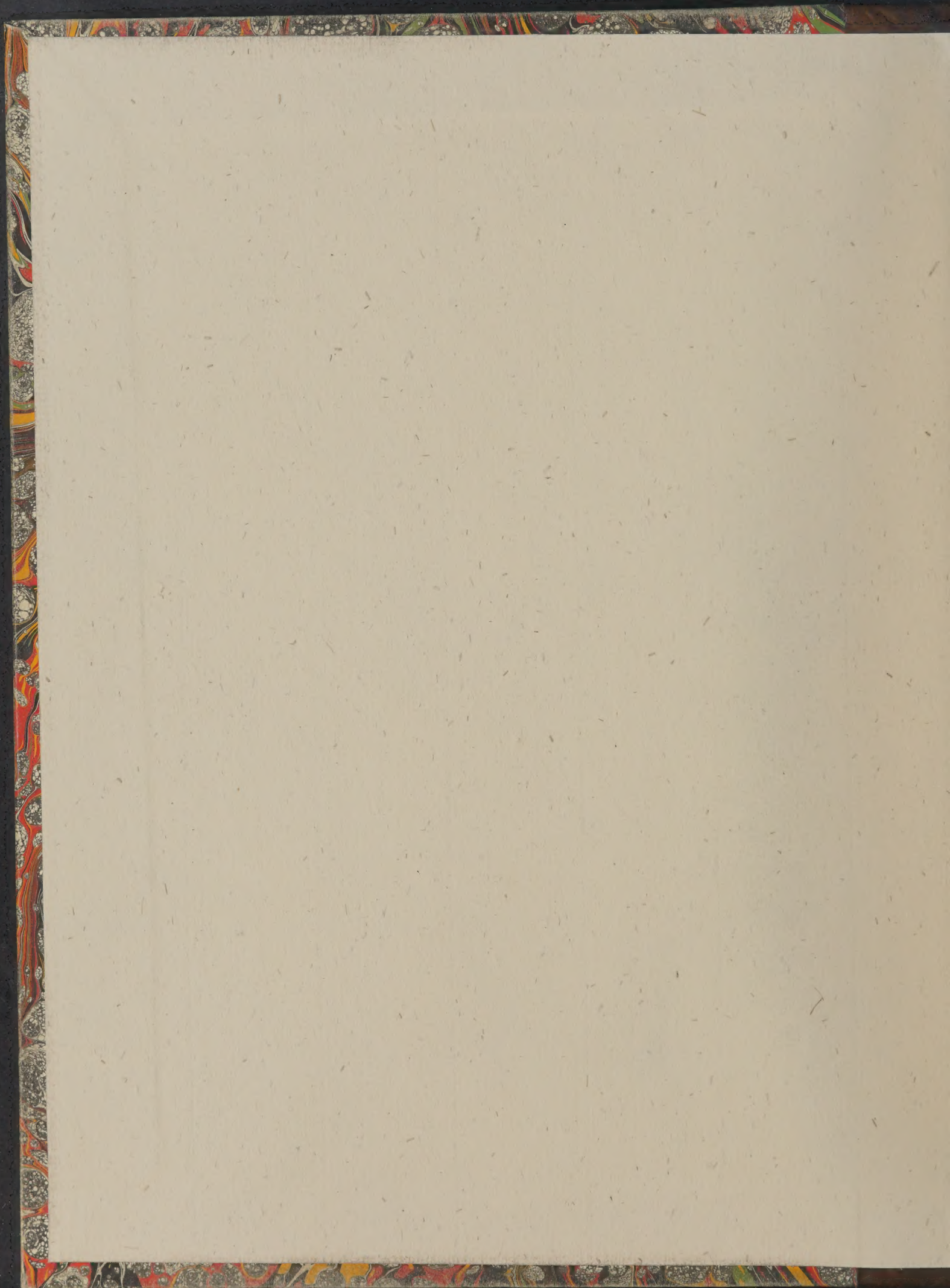
PALMER'S
HISTORY
OF
PRINTING

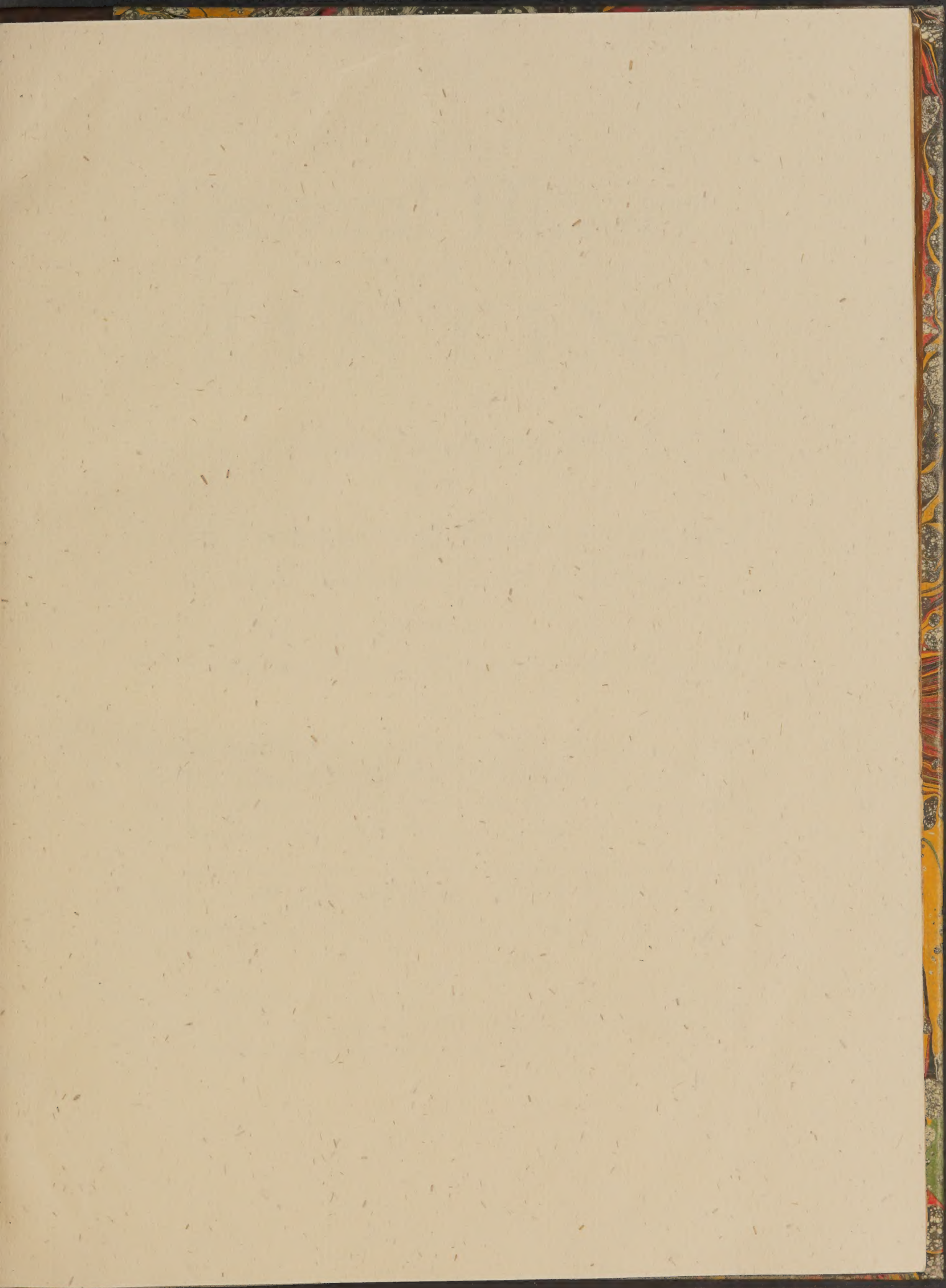


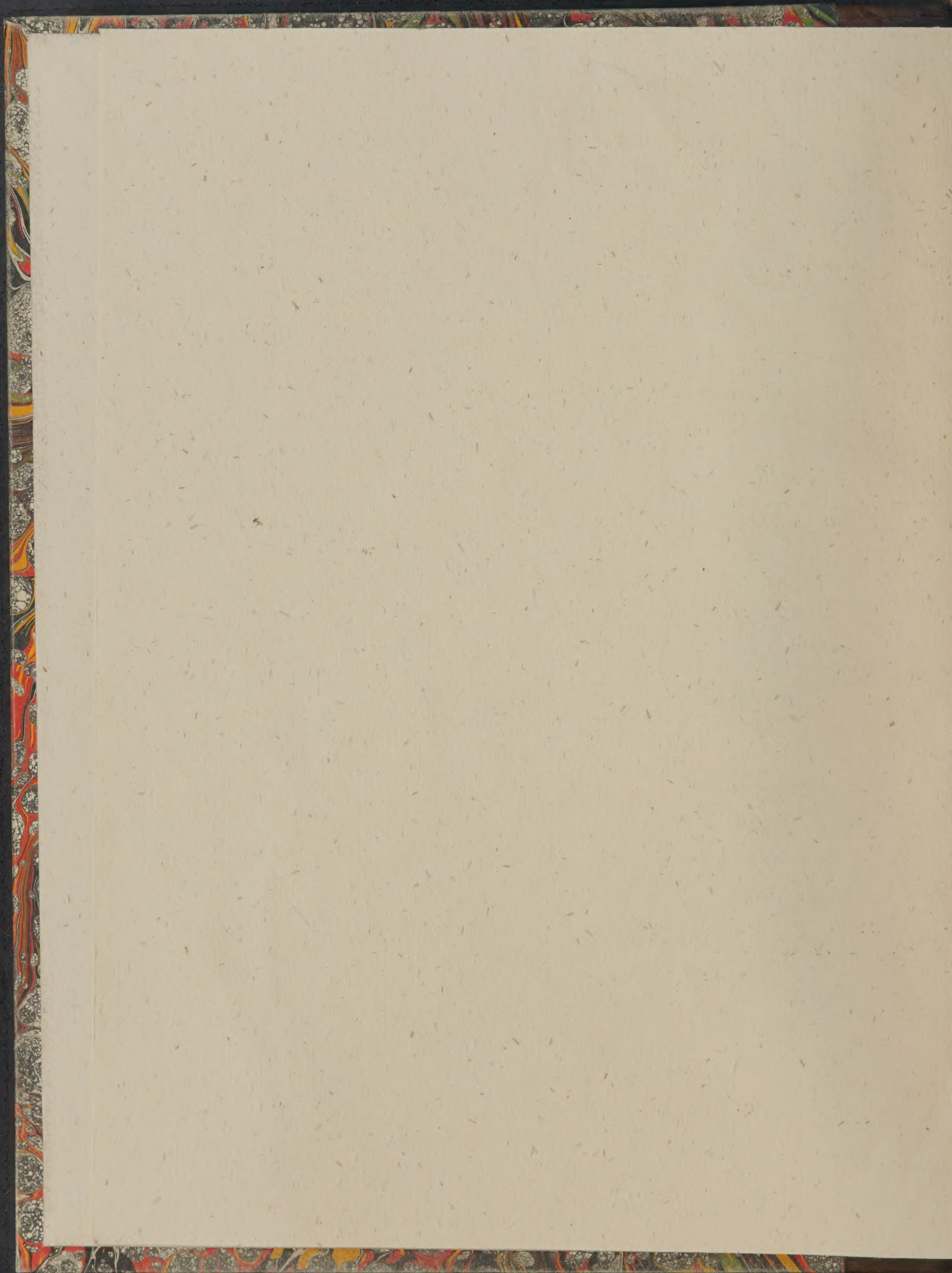












THE
General History
OF
PRINTING,
FROM

Its first Invention in the City of MENTZ,

TO

Its first PROGRESS and PROPAGATION thro'
the most celebrated Cities in *Europe*.

Particularly,

Its Introduction, Rise and Progress here in England.

THE

Character of the most celebrated PRINTERS, from
the first Inventors of the Art to the Years 1520 and 1550.
With an Account of their Works, and of the most considerable
Improvements which they made to it during that Interval.

By S. PALMER, PRINTER.

L O N D O N :

*Printed by the Author, and sold by his Widow at his late Printing-House
in Bartholomew-close: also by J. ROBERTS in Warwick-lane, and
by most Booksellers in Town and Country. M DCC XXXII.*

Jacobi Toye

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In its Invention in the City of MENEZ
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L O N D O N :

Printed by the Author, and sold by the Booksellers in the Strand, and
in the City of London: and by J. B. G. in the Strand, and
at each Bookshop in Town and Country. MDCCLXXII.

Palmer
1772



P R E F A C E.



S it is very natural and commendable for every man to be ever inquiring after any discovery or improvement that may be useful to his profession, and to communicate it to the publick, I am willing to hope that the care and pains, the time and expence I have bestow'd on the following History, will be approv'd by every one who considers the nature, use and extent of it; and the rather, because nothing has been yet publish'd, at least in English, on the subject of PRINTING, so methodical and comprehensive either in the Historical or Practical part of it. As to the History, I could not, without some regret, observe that we had nothing in our own language but some few fragments dispers'd in several Authors, who only spoke of it occasionally, whilst so many Italians, Germans and French had wrote so copiously upon it, and ex professo. Tho' even these seem rather to have had a view to the introduction and progress of the Art in their respective countries, than to the displaying of its excellency and improvements. Neither did I find that any of them had given so particular a History of the Invention and Inventors, or so general a one of its progress and promulgation through Europe, and beyond it, as I could have wish'd, or as I thought might be compiled.

iv P R E F A C E.

However, neither these considerations, nor the discoveries I had made from some ancient and valuable editions I met with in some of our noble libraries, nor even the examples of several men of my profession abroad, who have writ largely on both the subjects, could have prevail'd upon me to have undertaken this Historical part, which I knew deserved a much better pen. The Practical being more within my province, my ambition reached no higher than to have published such a compleat system of it, from the helps I had received from Mr. Fertel and Mr. Jn. Andr. Endters, (two eminent Printers, the first at St. Omer's, and the other at Nuremberg, who have published two curious treatises of it) and from my own observations and improvements on them; as few of my profession would have fail'd of being the better for in some branch or other of the Art. And I could with the utmost pleasure have communicated all the other discoveries which I had occasionally made, to any person that would have been at the pains of writing this History. But when I discover'd my design, I found, to my surprise, that the Practical part would not meet with that encouragement and approbation I expected, particularly from those for whose benefit and improvement I had chiefly design'd it, tho' the publick could not but have been the better for it, by having much better and neater impressions than are generally done.

Upon this account my friends and patrons persuaded me to alter my Design, and to suspend the Practical part, till the Historical, which they press'd me also to undertake, had in some measure made way for it. Pursuant therefore to this new plan, I resolved to spare neither cost nor pains to get a sight, or at least a certain intelligence of all the Old editions that were valuable either for their antiquity, elegancy, or for any light they could give me into this History, and to add my own

P R E F A C E.

V

observations upon them, not only as an historian, but more especially as a PRINTER. The Reader will find, by the sequel, that none but one of that profession, and one that is well vers'd in those old ancient works can form a right judgment of them; and this is the reason that so many of them have been mistaken for Manuscripts, or have been supposed to have been printed upon wooden blocks, even by persons otherwise very learned and judicious; whereas it is even demonstrable that they were done by separate metal types.

My next care was to read over all that has been writ hitherto upon the subject, especially by the judicious Malinkrot, by De la Caille, Chevillier, Endters, P. Pater, Orlandi, and by the learned Mr. Maittaire, from all whom the Reader will find I have received no small helps, and which I do here gladly acknowledge; and if I have at any time ventured to dissent from them, I hope he will find my opinion back'd with sufficient authority; but where that could not be obtained, I have contented myself with leading the Reader to the most probable side. And it is with no small pleasure that I have found one or two of my conjectures since confirm'd by the discovery of some latent pieces, which were not known to them. They had indeed access to the most celebrated Libraries of their own countries, but this History will convince them that all that is valuable and curious is not confined to them, and that we have many as nobly and richly furnish'd in our own as any in theirs.

And here I should be extremely ungrateful, if I did not take this opportunity of acknowledging the great helps and curious informations I have been favour'd with by several of the Patrons and Encouragers of this work, as well as my great obligations to the Right Honourable the Earls of Pembroke and Oxford, to whom I am proud to own myself beholden (but more especially

a

to

to the former,) for all the discoveries which this History has above any other extant. My free access to those two Libraries, as well as to those of my very good friends Dr. Mead, Dr. Rawlinson, Mr. Richardson, and others, besides some of our publick ones, such as those of Oxford, Cambridge, and of the Middle Temple, have afforded me the satisfaction of seeing many of those scarce editions, which have been mention'd by most Annalists, if we except Mr. Maittaire, either from Catalogues or hear-say. And here I gladly take this opportunity of returning my thanks to these learned Correspondents, who have favour'd me with any curious intelligence from those Libraries, which my Business and the bad state of health, would not permit me to visit.

The order of this History is as follows.

The first book contains an account of the Discovery and Inventors of the Art, whether really such, or only pretended, with remarks on their first tryals upon Blocks, and their first editions.

The second book treats of the promulgation of PRINTING into all the several cities and places in Europe, and the improvements made to it by the most eminent Printers down to An. 1520.

The third gives an account of its first introduction into England, its rise and progress in several cities, towns and monasteries; with the characters and works of the most famous English Printers to an. 1550, a fuller account of all which may be seen in the following Table of CONTENTS.

This Performance I entirely submit to the approbation or censure of the curious and candid, as it shall deserve. And I shall gain the main end I propos'd, if what I have done shall contribute to some more full and elaborate productions of this nature.

Thus

P R E F A C E. vii

Thus far Mr. PALMER's *Preface* to the Historical part, as to what relates to the Practical, we need not trouble the Reader with it here. What the Author design'd to treat of in it, may be seen by the *Table of Contents* prefix'd to the first Number of this work. In this Table he will likewise find several particulars which were promis'd to be added to this History, but which we have been obliged to omit, either for want of materials, or because they were not thought so necessary to this work by the promoters of it. Of the first sort was the *History of Printing in Scotland and Ireland*; concerning the former of which we can add nothing to the short account which was printed at *Edenburgh* by Mr. *Watson* the King's Printer there; and as for *Ireland* we are still more in the dark for want of Memoirs. Mr. PALMER had likewise promis'd the Prints of the *Rebus's* of all the foreign eminent PRINTERS, but, as he had not got them cut before his death, and has given an account of them at the end of their works, it was thought that charge might as well be spared; so that we have only added those which were used by the most considerable ones of our own nation. His list of the most excellent PRINTERS from 1500 to this time; the several acts for regulating the Press, and for securing the property of Copies, being left very imperfect, the charge of finishing them was likewise thought unnecessary; for which reason they are also omitted.

All that needs be added with regard to his Practical part, is, that, as it was intended to have been printed first, the Author has left it in such perfect order, that, if the Publick will be pleased to encourage it, an Edition may be easily printed from his Manuscript. 'Twere needless to tell the world how fit he was for such a work, what pains he has taken, and what improvements he made to it; those who knew Mr. PALMER will think it sufficient to say that the subject is the *Art of Printing*, and he the Author of it.



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A GENERAL
History of Printing:

BOOK I.

Of its Origin, Improvement and Progress by
JOHN FAUST from 1440. to 1462.

CHAP. I.

An Enquiry into the Rise of Printing.



My design is to give an historical account of the authors, discovery, improvement and progress of the Art of Printing; an Art so highly beneficial to mankind, by preserving and transmitting to posterity the treasures of antient and modern learning, that its original has been esteem'd divine. I shall begin with a previous enquiry into the causes and concurrent circumstances, which excited the inventors of it to a discovery, that might answer this end, with more expedition and exactness, than *Transcribing*, the only method known before.

B

THE

THE world at this time began to recover from a state of ignorance, under which it had labour'd many centuries ; learning reviv'd, and was patroniz'd in almost every country of *Europe* ; its votaries exerted a laudable zeal in searching the libraries for those valuable books, which had lain buried in obscurity, and were become extremely scarce, great numbers being lost in the times of ignorance. Manuscripts were procur'd and multiplied ; but the price of them was such, that none but men of fortune could purchase them : 120 crowns for a *Livy*, and 80 crowns for three volumes of *Plutarch's* Lives *, was then a moderate price : a few manuscripts were thought a portion worthy a nobleman's daughter ; and one or two intitled the donor and his posterity to the perpetual prayers of a monastery : nay kings themselves disdain'd not the office of procuring them for their learned friends, as appears from a letter of *Antoninus Bocattellus*, firnam'd *Panormus*, to *Alphonfus* king of *Naples* and *Sicily* † ; and an old manuscript *hebrew bible* was a present from the Emperor *Frederick III.* to *Reuchlin*, who was sent embassador to him. *Paulus Jovius* relates a pleasant story of one *Jason Mainus*, a student of *Pavia*, whose extravagance having brought him to a goal was oblig'd to deposit a manuscript *Codex Juris* on parchment, into the hands of an usurer, in order to procure his enlargement : *Petrarch's* rhetoric master likewise, by pledging two volumes of *Cicero's* works, sav'd himself from a prison.

As this excessive price tempted some to purchase estates by the sale of their books, and exchange learning for money ; so the learned at that time freely parted with their wealth to procure those invaluable remains of antiquity, out of a generous design to communicate them to the world.

THE Transcribers now had a favourable opportunity of enriching themselves, which they might have enjoy'd much longer, had not they (possess'd with the most mercenary views) done an incredible, and in some cases ir-

* De tribus voluminibus *PLUTARCHI* in quibus parallela viginti quatuor continentur, titulos sumpsit, ut mones ; pretium minus LXXX aureis esse non potest, &c. *Papiens. P. 114. vet. edit.*

† Significasti mihi nuper ex *Florentia* extare *TITI LIVII* opera vœnalia, libros pulcherrimos ; libro pretium esse CXX aureos. Quare majestatem tuam oro, ut *LIVIVM*, quem regem librorum appellare consuevimus, emi no-

mine meo, ac venire ad nos facias ; interim ego pecuniam procurabo, quam pro libri pretio tradam. Sed illud a prudentia tua sciae desidero, uter ego an *Pegnius* melius fecerit ; is, ut villam *Florentiæ* emeret, *LIVIVM* vendidit, quem sua manu pulcherrime scripserat ; ego, ut *LIVIVM* emam, fundum proscripsi. Hæc ut familiariter a te peterem, suavit humanitas & modestia tua. Vale & triumpha. *Epistol. lib. 5.*

An Enquiry into the Rise of Printing. 3

recoverable damage to learning, by mutilating and corrupting the best authors : hence arise those frequent complaints against their negligence and ignorance, which have cost the learned an infinite deal of labour to remedy : to evince this the following instance will suffice.

JOHN ANDREAS, bishop of *Aleria*, one of the greatest criticks of that age, tells Pope *Paul II.* in his dedication prefix'd to *Pliny's Natural History**, printed at *Rome* in the house of the *Maximis* by *Panaratz* and *Sweynheim*, anno 1470, that tho' he had spent nine whole years in correcting that author ; yet ninety more would not compleat a correct edition. This demonstrates what difficulties the republick of learning encounter'd with at it's revival ; namely, the scarcity and excessive price of books, and the sordidness of the Transcribers, from whose hands they came so maim'd and incorrect, that the great Printer *Stephens* truly said, *they were a plague to the purchaser*. These were motives sufficient to excite the Inventors of this Art to a discovery so beneficial to the world, and of such honour and advantage to themselves : who those excellent persons were, and where it was made, will come under our enquiry in its proper place. And here the reader will find just cause of wonder, that this Art, which has been stiled the nurse and preserver of arts and sciences, should (if I may use the expression) be so forgetful of itself, as not to leave us the least sketch of its own history, the inventors being *more ambitious of deserving, than of purchasing praise*. Some light indeed we receive in this affair from a few inscriptions used by *Faust* at the end of his first printed books, to this purpose. *This present work, with all its embellishments, &c. was done, not with pen and ink, &c. but by a new invented Art of casting Letters, Printing, &c. by me John Faust and my son-in-law Peter Schoeffer in the famous city of Mentz upon the Rhine, anno —* : but recourse must be had to the writers of those times for the history of this Invention. Many cities have contended for the glory of it, and engaged the learned in defence of their claim ; but those on the side of *Harlem* have manag'd the controversy with great warmth, and charged *Faust* the Inventor with robbing his supposed master *Laurence John Coster* of many thousand weight of his materials, on Christmas-Eve, when the whole family and city were in prayer at church ; with other such ridiculous stories, invented meerly to deprive this *Great Man* of the honour, which he had so

* In nonum annum premi non potuit emendatio, ne futura quidem exacta post nonagesimum.

4 *Of the different Manners of Printing by*

long incontestably enjoy'd. Had this been publish'd in his life-time, when he might have defended himself, or presently after his death, when his son-in-law or some of his friends might have done it for him, he had undoubtedly been clear'd ; but such an accusation was not hinted till 125 years after, and then grounded only on suspicion, as Dr. Junius owns *, who was the first that attempted to transfer this Discovery from *Mentz* to *Harlem*. However *Faust's* name died not with him, tho' some Dutch writers made use of *his art* to asperse his memory : and others of several nations rose immediately in his defence ; in particular the learned *Malincrot*, dean of *Munster*, in his treatise *De Ortu & Progressu Artis Typographicae*, has not only refuted what was advanc'd on the other side, but made such researches after the old monuments of the Art, and collected so great a variety of testimonies, supported by undeniable facts, as seem at once to determine the controversy. *Boxhorn* indeed attempted an answer ; but whoever reads it over, cannot but be convinc'd, that an over-fondness for his country's honour has made him deaf to the most evident demonstrations of his antagonist. However as he and his followers, have given up the point as to separate Metal Types in favour of *John Faust*, and lay claim only to the invention of *Printing on Blocks of Wood*, which they affirm to have been stoln from *Coster* by *Faust*, whose next invention they would have to be only an improvement of the former ; I shall give the reader an idea of both, and shew the difference between those first essays of Printing, and that perfect one, which succeeded and continues to this day.

C H A P. II.

An Account of the different Manners of Printing by Blocks of Wood, and separate Metal Types.

TIS agreed by most writers on this subject, that about the year 1440, several attempts were made by some persons, with vast expence and labour, which prov'd abortive ; but that the discovery of separate Metal Types was not brought to perfection till about the year 1450. We find that their first essays were by carving or cutting letters with a sharp-pointed knife upon Blocks of Wood, each Block containing a page or one side of a leaf ; that instead of the common

* Ut fert suspicio

Ink,

Blocks of Wood and separate Metal Types. 5

Ink, which is the sort they first us'd, they invented a more glutinous one which succeeded better, being less apt to spread; that they pasted the two white sides of each leaf together, to make them look like single leaves: but of this I shall have occasion to speak more particularly in some of the following chapters. In the mean time I shall endeavour to demonstrate that this invention has not that merit for ingenuity, usefulness, or novelty, which the *Dutch* writers boast of.

WITH respect to the first, the only requisites are a tolerable genius, sharp tools, and a good copy: as to its usefulness, the only advantage resulting from it, is, that whatever the book be, the forms remain intire, so that as many editions as the author pleases may be printed without the expence of a new composition; but on the other hand, if we consider that those forms are of no use to any other work, and the time and expence in cutting them very great, with the great space so many Pages of Wood must take up, we shall perceive the necessity of inventing moveable Metal Types: But farther, this method of Printing was far from being novel, it is even demonstrable from authentick testimonies to have been practis'd in *China* and *Japan*, above four centuries before it was known in *Europe*: it is not easy, I grant, to prove that we receiv'd it from them, because of their vast distance, and the little commerce between us before the year 1440: yet there is no impossibility, but that it might have been brought us by some merchant either by the way of *Muscovy* or the *Red-Sea*, the *Persian Gulph* or *Arabia*: of which opinion I could mention many authors. *Gonzala de Mendoza*, in his history of the *Marvels of China*, written in Spanish, Book III. Chap. 16; and *Martin Martini* in his *Atlas Sinensis*, tell us, that they could prove by good arguments, that the Invention of *Guns*, of the *Loadstone* and *Printing* was known to us by their means. What adds to the probability of my conjecture is, that the *Chinese* to this day send with their goods, printed papers in the manner of our shop-keepers hand-bills, several of which I have seen; and 'tis not impossible but the hint of Printing on Blocks of Wood might have been taken this way.

WHOEVER has a just idea of the genius of the *Chinese* and *Japonese*, will own their capacity to have invented the method of Printing with separate types, if their manner of writing had admitted it; but as they are known to write, not with letters, as other nations, but with characters, each of which

6 *Of the different Manners of Printing by*

which stands for a whole word ; and that the number of those characters amount at least to 10,000, (tho' some authors reckon above 40,000) ; it would be impossible to have cases large enough to contain 'em, besides the insuperable difficulty of distinguishing and retaining them in memory. To return from this digression, let us now take a short view of the other new and more expeditious method.

IF we duely consider it in all its branches, it will evidently appear the result of no small study, time and cost. The cutting the counter-punches and punches and sinking them into the matrices, the adjusting them to the mould, that curious piece of mechanism, for casting single letters ; the difficulty of the whole manual operation of Letter-founding : in the Printing, the disposition of the cases, the curious contrivance of the several parts of the work between the compositors, correctors and press-men, &c. add to all this the fine invention of the Printing-press, so admirable for its mechanical fabrick, together with the curious apparatus necessary for a Printing-house, for an explication of whose terms we must refer to the second volume of this work : these are things which require a genius vastly superior to devise, better hands to execute, greater forecast to obviate, and readiness to remedy all unexpected defects, more time and patience to go thro' all its various parts, more resolution to overcome all difficulties, and lastly the expences necessary to this invention vastly larger than those of the former ; and consequently we shall be far from thinking an interval of ten years too long, but rather admire that such a prodigious design could be contriv'd and perfected in so short a time.

WHAT has been said on this head, will sufficiently demonstrate the disparity between these two methods, and convince the reader how much the former is inferior in every respect to the latter ; nay, if we dare rely on the judgment of the learned, we should scarce think it worthy the name of Printing, since it has nothing common with it except the ink ; and even a rowler, cover'd with cloath, would supply the place of a press to print their Pages of Wood.

NOW whether it be *Faust* or *Coster*, who practis'd this method on wood first, whether *Mentz*, *Harlem*, or any other city, gave it first encouragement ; whether the afore-nam'd persons had the hint from *China*, or happen'd on it accidentally, (tho' if we admit of the latter supposition, *Faust* and *Mentz* have the better title) ; this must be granted from what has
been

Blocks of Wood and Separate Metal Types. 7

been said, that by Printing we do not understand the method of Printing on Blocks of Wood claim'd by *Harlem*, but the present Art of Printing by separate Metal Types, which is so justly admir'd for its expeditious and correct way of preserving and propagating knowledge; and to which we owe the improvements made in most arts and sciences for near three centuries past.

HENCE it appears how little reason the *Dutch* writers have to value themselves upon an imaginary victory, which, were it granted in its fullest extent, would be despicable in comparison of the other. Yet *Boxborn* in his *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, page 142. places his hero *Coster* in a kind of triumphal chariot, dragging his vanquish'd enemies the *Germans* and *French* after him, with a pompous inscription, which I think worthy the curious readers notice *. He exults as if every sentence in that book was demonstration, and imposes an eternal silence on all those nations, which have appear'd in defence of *Mentz*, in a stanza of short verses after the manner of *Claudian*, which for its singularity is likewise here quoted †. However, I persuade my self that two or three of the following chapters will convince us of the vanity of these triumphs, unless this piece of divinity and poetry compos'd by *Scrivenerius* shall alter our sentiments; it contains four verses, to be plac'd under *Coster's* statue, and cited in the *Theatrum Holland.* abovementioned p. 156 *. I shall only inform the *English* reader, that the author of them pronounces it as rank atheism to deny *Coster* the glory of this invention, as to deny God that of the creation. I shall now leave *Harlem* and the *Dutch* writers, and pass over to the city

* Quem
Flos urbium,
HARLEMUM
Patritia familia edidit,
LAURENTIO COSTERO,
Qui incredibili & prope inhumana
Ingenii felicitate,
Moguntinis nequidquam negantibus
&
Gallis frustra obstrepentibus,
ARTEM TYPOGRAPHICAM
Primus invenit,
MONUMENTUM
hoc
L. M. P. Q.
Typis
Posuimus.

† Serrarii libelli,
Streperi tacete Galli;
Taceat sonorus autor.
Solutus ovantem Batavus
Ereditatus artem.
Hæc vox ætheriis insonet axibus,
Hæc vox per populos, per mare transeat;
HARLEMUS Typicam prodidit artifex.

* Vana quid archetypos & præla *Moguntia*
jactas?
Harlemi archetypos prælaque nata scias.
Extulit hic, monstrante deo, *Laurentius* artem:
Dissimulare virum hunc, dissimulare deum
est.

of *Mentz*, to examine the testimonies brought in favour of her, after having return'd *Boxborn* four lines from a learned *Italian* poet, who may be suppos'd a more impartial witness in this controversy *.

C H A P. III.

Testimonies of writers from the middle of the 15th century in favour of John Faust.

MALINCROT hath collected the testimonies of writers on either side of the controversy, from the promulgation of the art to the time in which he wrote. viz. ann. 1640. and rang'd them in the beginning of his book in the following order.

Those who declar'd for <i>Mentz</i> , before the dispute was started by	} 62
Dr. <i>Junius</i> , and quoted by him in that work	
Those, who have written on the same side since <i>Junius</i>	47
	109
Those who have written in favour of <i>Harlem</i>	13
Those who are neuters	11

By this list 'tis manifest where the advantage lies as to numbers, but lest so many testimonies should be thought tedious, it will not we hope be improper to select the most considerable, especially from those authors, who wrote soon after the discovery, and were better acquainted with this matter, than those who liv'd any time after it, and may be justly suppos'd to have follow'd their predecessors. But I would therefore avoid, as much as possible, clogging or interrupting the thread of this history. I shall only extract the most material authorities out of them, and in such a manner as shall be consistent with it, by inserting the passages themselves in the notes, that the reader may use his pleasure either in reading or omitting them.

* Abstulerat *Latio* multos *Germania* libros;
Nunc multo plures reddidit ingenio:

Et quod vix toto quisquam perferberet anno,
Munere *Germanico* conficit una dies.

Laur. Valla.

HOWEVER

BUT before I proceed any farther, it will be necessary to obviate an objection, that will infallibly occur to the reader's mind; which is, that in mentioning the first inventors of printing in the two preceding chapters, I have not so much as nam'd *John Guttenbergh*: whereas the greatest part of the authors, whom we are about to quote, place him in the first rank, and mention only the other two as co-adjutors to him. In answer to this it will be sufficient for the present to say, that the sequel of this History will shew that *Guttenbergh* had no other share in this invention, than by furnishing the other two with necessary supplies to defray the great charges of it; and that the authors of the *Mentz* and *Cologne* Chronicle, whom the rest seem to have follow'd in this, as also the learned antiquary *Trithemius*, have certainly confounded *Guttenbergh* with *Faust*, that is, mistook the one for the other, as will hereafter appear in its proper place.

OF all the authors, to whom the world is indebted for a particular account of this Discovery, Abbot *Trithemius* justly claims the pre-eminence, both upon the account of his living nearest the time of this discovery, which he tells us happen'd in his younger years¹, as well as for his care to derive his intelligence from its origin. We have two noble testimonies out of his Chronicle; the one from the first part, intitled *Chronicon Spanheimense*, where² speaking of the year 1450 he says; „ That about „ this time the Art of Printing and Casting Single Types was found out „ a-new in the city of *Mentz* by one *John Guttenberg*, who having spent „ his whole estate in this difficult discovery, by the assistance and advice „ of some honest men, *John Faust* and others, brought his undertaking „ at length to perfection: that the first Improver of this Art, after the In- „ ventor, was *Peter Schoeffer* (in Latin *Opilio*) de *Gernsheim*, who after- „ wards printed a great many volumes: that the said *Guttenberg* liv'd „ at *Mentz* in a house call'd then *Zum-junghen*, but afterward known „ by the name of the *Printing House*. ” But lest the reader should be

¹ Tempore infantiae meae apud Moguntiam, &c. *Trith. Epist. Fam. Epist.* 48.

² His quoque temporibus ars imprimendi & characterizandi libros, de novo reperta est in civitate Moguntina per quendam civem, qui *Johannes Guttenberg* dicebatur: qui cum omnem substantiam propter nimiam difficultatem inventionis novae in eam perficiendam exposuisset, consilio & auxilio bonorum virorum *Johannis*

Faust & aliorum adjutus, rem inceptam perfecit. Primus autem hujus artis dilator fuit, post ipsum inventorem, *Petrus Opilio de Gernsheim*, qui multa volumina suo tempore impressit. Morabatur autem praefatus *J. Guttenberg* Moguntiae in domo *Zumjunghen*, quae domus usque in praesentem diem illius novae artis nomine noscitur insignita. *Chronic. Spanheim.* ad ann. 1450.

startled at the word *a-new* (*de novo*) it will be requisite to acquaint him that *Trithemius* was in all probability of the same opinion with some other writers, who from a passage of *St. Cyprian* misunderstood, wherein the invention of Printing (by which is meant no more than that of stamping of Letters and Hieroglyphicks upon Medals, Coins, &c.) is attributed to *Saturn*, took occasion to reckon it among the *artes perditæ*, and consequently esteem'd this rather a revival of the art than a new discovery; but he sufficiently retracts that error in the next passage we shall quote from him, which was not wrote till many years after, and that from a more diligent enquiry into the discovery and merit of this new, and *till then unheard of, Art*; for this will appear from his words as you will see immediately.

THIS next passage, which is fuller, and for its singularity and decisiveness deserves to be set down at length, is taken out of the second part of *Trithemius's* Chronicle, intituled *Chronicon Hirsaugiense*. This book was unknown to the learned till the year 1690. when the *Benedictins* of the monastery of *St. Gall* in *Switzerland* beg'd leave to publish it from the original manuscript, which had lain hid all that time. The Abbot wrote this towards the close of his life, after he had been inform'd of many particulars, relating to this invention, from the mouth of *Peter Schoeffer* (in *English*, *Shepherd*) surnam'd *de Gernsheim*, to whom *Faust*, for the many helps he had receiv'd from him, namely, in devising Punches, Matrices, and Moulds for casting their Metal Types (in which the main perfection of the Art consisted) gave his only daughter *Christina* in marriage, and from a servant took him into partnership with him, as appears by the inscriptions to the first books publish'd by them, of which we have given a sketch already. The passage is as follows¹. „ About this time (*ann.*

¹ His temporibus in civitate *Moguntina* *Germaniæ* prope *Rhenum*, & non in *Italia*, ut quidam falso scripserant, inventa & excogitata est ars illa mirabilis, & prius inaudita imprimendi & characterizandi libros, per *Johannem Gутtenberg* civem *Moguntinum*, qui cum omnem pene substantiam suam pro inventione hujus artis exposuisset, & nimia difficultate laborans, jam in isto, jam in illo deficeret, jamque prope esset ut desperatus negotium intermitteret, consilio tandem & impensis *Johannis Fust* æque civis *Moguntini*, rem perfecit inceptam. Imprimis igitur characteribus literarum in tabulis ligneis per ordinem scriptis, formisque compo-

fitis, vocabularium, *Catholicum* nuncupatum, imprefferunt; sed cum iisdem formis nihil aliud potuerunt imprimere, eo quod characteres non fuerunt amovibiles de tabulis, sed insculpti, sicut diximus. Post hæc inventis successerunt subtiliora, inveneruntque modum fundendi formas omnium *Latini* Alphabeti literarum, quas ipsi matrices nominabant; ex quibus rursum æneos sive stanneos characteres fundebant ad omnem pressuram sufficientes, quos prius manibus sculpebant: & revera, si uti ante triginta ferme annos ex ore *Petri Opilioni de Gernsheim* civis *Moguntini*, qui gener erat primi artis inventoris, audiivi, magnam a primo inventionis

„ 1450.)

„ 1450.) in the city of *Mentz* in *Germany* upon the *Rhine*, and not in
 „ *Italy*, as some writers falsly affirm'd, the wonderful and till then un-
 „ known *Art* of Printing Books by Metal Types [*characterizandi*] was in-
 „ vented and devis'd by *John Guttenberg*, citizen of *Mentz*; who having
 „ almost exhausted his whole estate in contriving of this new Method, and
 „ labouring under such insuperable difficulties, in one respect or other,
 „ that he began to despair of, and to throw up the whole design; was
 „ at length assisted with the advice and purse of *John Faust*, another ci-
 „ tizen of *Mentz*, and happily brought it to perfection. Having there-
 „ fore begun with cutting characters of the letters upon wooden planks,
 „ in their right order, and compleated their forms, they printed the vo-
 „ cabulary intituled *Catholicon*; but could make no farther use of those
 „ forms, because there was no possibility of separating the letters, which
 „ were engraven on the planks, as we hinted before. To this succeeded
 „ a more ingenious invention; for they found out a way of stamping the
 „ shapes of every letter of the *Latin* Alphabet, in what they call *Matri-*
 „ *ces*, from which they afterwards cast their letters, either in copper or
 „ tin, hard enough to be printed upon, which they first cut with their
 „ own hands. It is certain this art met with no small difficulties from
 „ the beginning of its invention, as I heard 30 years ago from the mouth
 „ of *Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim*, citizen of *Mentz*, and Son-in-law to the
 „ first Inventor of the Art. For when they went about printing the Bible,
 „ before they had work'd off the third quire, it had cost them already
 „ above 4000 florins. But the afore-mention'd *Peter Schoeffer*, then ser-
 „ vant and afterwards Son-in-law to the first Inventor *John Faust*, as we
 „ hinted before, being a person of great ingenuity, discover'd an easier
 „ method of casting letters, and perfected the art as we now have it.
 „ These three kept this manner of printing very secret for some time,

suæ hæc Ars impressoria habuit difficultatem; impressuri namque Bibliam, priusquam tertiam complessent in opere quaternionem, plusquam 4000 florenorum exposuerunt. Petrus autem memoratus Opilio tunc famulus, postea gener, sicut diximus, Inventoris primi Johannis Faust, homo ingeniosus & prudens, faciliorem modum fundendi Characteres, & artem, ut nunc est, complevit. Et hi tres imprimendi modum aliquandiu tenuerunt occultum, quousque per famulos sine quorum ministerio artem ipsam ex-

ercere non poterant, divulgatus fuit in Argentinenses primo, & paulatim in omnes nationes. — Et hæc de impressoria mira subtilitate dicta sufficiant, cujus inventores primi cives Moguntini fuerunt. — Habitabant autem primi tres artis impressoriæ inventores, Johannes videlicet Guttenber, Johannes Faust & Petrus Opilio, gener ejus Moguntia in domo Zuni-junghen dicta, quæ deinceps usque in præsens Impressoria nuncupatur. Chron. Hirsaugiense ad ann. 1450.

„ until it was divulg'd by their servants, without whose help it was impossible to manage the business, who carry'd it first to *Strasburg*, and by degrees all over *Europe*. — Thus much will suffice concerning the discovery of this wonderful art, the first inventors of which were citizens of *Mentz*. — These three first discoverers of printing, viz. *John Guttenberg*, *John Faust* and *Peter Schoeffer* his Son-in-law, liv'd at *Mentz*, in a house then call'd *Zum-junghen*, but ever since known by the name of the *Printing-house*. „

FROM this authentick testimony, I shall beg leave to make the following observations, viz. 1. That when the author concluded his *Chronicle*, ann. 1514. two years before his death, and above 64 years after the discovery, this invention was indisputably ascrib'd to *Mentz*; he says indeed that some writers had attributed it to *Italy*, but without any foundation; and therefore he rejects this notion as absolutely false. Yet *Junius*, as has been already hinted, first started a dispute in favour of *Harlem*, almost 130 years after the art became known; and after him Dr. *Mentel* began another in favour of *Strasburgh*, ann. 1650, both which shall be answer'd in their places.

THE next observation is, that tho' the passage quoted out of his first *Chronicle* seems to be taken, if not copy'd out of that of *Mentz*, which is likewise a very antient and authentick monument, yet our author seems not to have been satisfy'd with it, till he had it confirm'd by surer hands. Other authors indeed have written concerning the origin of this art, according to the best memoirs they could procure, whether true or false; but our author alone has been at the pains to fetch his information from the fountain head, and deliver'd the particulars of it, as he receiv'd 'em from the principal agent in the invention, in the quotation from his second *Chronicle*: so that his testimony, were it the only one we could produce for *Mentz*, ought still to be esteem'd unquestionable and decisive.

ANOTHER particular worth our observation is, that tho' he mentions two books as printed immediately upon the discovery, viz. the *Catholicon* and the *Bible*, yet he sufficiently shews the difference between the methods of their impression; the former being done upon wooden planks, cut with a knife after the *Chinese* manner, as our wooden cutts are done now; whereas the *Bible* was printed with separate types, which, as we shew'd in the

the preceding chapter, is the only way that merits the name of *Printing*. This seems plainly intimated by the words in the citation before-mentioned, *When they came to print the Bible; and by the vast expence they had been at before they finish'd the third quire of it*: from which it is evident, that this sacred book was the first work of consequence which the authors of this art made choice of to signalize the first-fruits of their invention.

THE last thing I would observe is, that tho' *Trithemius* gives the precedence of this discovery to *John Guttenbergh*, in the beginning of this passage, yet within a few lines after, he twice gives the title of *The first inventor of Printing* to *John Faust*; which contradiction cannot be well reconcil'd otherwise, than by supposing that he, thro' inadvertency, wrote the name of *John Guttenberg* instead of *John Faust* and this is far from being improbable, since their christian names are the same: and tho' he again puts *Guttenbergh* first, when he speaks of the house in which they liv'd, yet this might be done only out of respect to him, either as being a knight (according to the writers of that time), or because he was the most opulent of the three, and had contributed most to the charges of the invention.

THIS must be allow'd, unless we could suppose that the editor having compar'd the two passages together, namely, that out of the first, and this out of the second Chronicle, had corrected, as he imagin'd, the latter by the former, upon a suspicion, that the author writing the last almost 30 years after he had receiv'd the account from *Schoeffer*, might have mistaken one name for the other; but to be certain of this, it would be necessary to consult the original. However, what confirms me in my conjecture is, that the author or his editor have committed a mistake, and that *Guttenberg* had no other interest in the discovery than by assisting them with money to promote the design, is, the law-suit which he commenc'd against *Faust* at *Mentz* about the money expended, and the judgment of the court thereupon; of which the learned *Salmuth* has given the following account in his appendix to *Panciroli's* commentaries¹; and this may

¹ Eodem tempore Moguntiae commorebatur *Johannes Guttenbergius*, honestis parentibus natus, qui proxime *Fausti* ædibus habitabat. Hic cum animadvertisset insignem hanc artem Typographicam, non solum omnium ore passim celebrari, sed etiam admodum lucrosam esse, familiaritatem cum *Fausto* con-

traxit; & quia opulentus erat, pecuniam ei ad sumptus necessarios obtulit; quod *Fausto*, minime ingratum fuit, quandoquidem comperiebat sumptus, quos in artem faciebat, quotidie crescere, & tunc opus chartæ pergamenæ imprimendum sub manibus habebat: quapropter cum *Guttenbergio* convenit & pactus est, ut quic-

be esteem'd another pregnant testimony for *Faust*, since 'tis extracted from an original record of the law-suit. The narrative as related by our author is as follows.

„ ABOUT this time there liv'd at *Mentz* one *John Guttenbergh*, born
 „ of honest parents, who dwelt next door to *John Faust*: he observing
 „ this famous art of Printing was not only cry'd up every where, but
 „ also very gainful, contracted a friendship with *Faust*; and being ex-
 „ ceeding rich, offer'd to supply him with money to defray the charges
 „ of it, which was gladly accepted by *Faust*, who began to find the ex-
 „ pence grow too fast upon him, and wanted vellum to print a work then in
 „ hand. Upon this he agrees and covenants with *Guttenbergh*, that whatever
 „ sums were laid out in the work, should turn to their common profit
 „ or loss. But because *Faust* had dispos'd of more money then *Guttenbergh*
 „ imagin'd the business would require, he refused to pay his moiety;
 „ upon which a dissension arose between them, and they summon'd each
 „ other before the judges at *Mentz*. The parties being heard, it was
 „ decreed, that if *Faust* would make oath, that all the money which he
 „ had borrow'd, had been expended in carrying on the common busi-
 „ ness, and that he had converted no part thereof to his own private uses;
 „ *Guttenbergh* should be oblig'd to pay him. *Faust* submitted to this de-
 „ cree; as may evidently be prov'd from an original instrument still
 „ extant, which was drawn Nov. 6. ann. 1455. by *Uldric Helmsperger*,

quid in illud opus impenderetur, communi utri-
 usque lucro vel damno cederet. Quoniam ve-
 ro *Faustus* plus insumpserat, quam *Guttenbergius*
 necessitatem postulasse arbitrabatur: hic dimi-
 diam suam partem exsolvere detrectavit; qua
 ex re cum his orta esset, alter alterum *Moguntia*
 in jus vocavit, ubi, partibus auditis, pronun-
 ciatum fuit; si *Johannes Faustus* interposito jura-
 mento affirmare posset, omnem pecuniam,
 quam mutuam sumpsisset in commune opus e-
 rogatam, non autem in proprios usus conver-
 sam fuisse, *Guttenbergium* ad solvendum obliga-
 tum esse. Cui sententiae *Faustus* paruit, sicut
 ex archetypo instrumenti, quod etiamnum su-
 perest, anno 1455 sexto novembris a *Johanne*
Ulrico Helmspergero notario de eare confectum
 fuit, liquido demonstrari potest. Unde eviden-
 ter apparet *Guttenbergium* nequaquam artis ty-
 pographicæ inventorem & primum authorem
 esse, sed aliquot annis postquam ea inventa fu-

isset, a *Johanne Fausto* in consortium adscitum,
 pecuniam ei suppeditasse — Cum igitur
Guttenbergius ad sumptus refundendos damna-
 tus fuisset, & ex eo similitates inter illum &
Faustum magis exarsissent, ille autem interea ar-
 tem vidisset & didicisset, siquidem inter tot
 operas, quæ ad illam excudendam requiruntur,
 fieri non potuit, ut ea diutius occultaretur,
 quod etiam Deus proculdubio noluit, *Moguntia*
Argentina se contulit, quo aliquot ex operis
 secum attraxit. Post illud dissidium alii quo-
 que, qui apud *Faustum* artem illam didicerant,
 eum deseruerunt, & *Francofurtum* atque in alia
 loca se receperunt; cum præsertim anno 1462
Moguntia capta, & pristina sua libertate privata
 fuisset, quo factum est, ut hæc præclara ars
 omnibus innotesceret, & publici juris fieret.
Appendic. ad Commentar. Pæncirol. ad titul. 12.
qui est de Typographia.

„ a notary publick, pursuant to the said sentence. Hence it manifestly
 „ follows that *Guttenbergh* was in no wise the inventor or first author of
 „ Printing; but that he had been admitted by *Faust* into partnership
 „ with him some few years after the discovery of the art, and had lent
 „ him money to prosecute the design. — *Guttenbergh* being cast, and
 „ oblig'd to pay cost and charges, and new quarrels arising daily be-
 „ tween *Faust* and him, and he having seen and learn'd the business, as
 „ it was impossible that among so many hands requisite to the carrying
 „ on of the art, it should continue longer a secret, which probably
 „ God would not suffer it to be, he [*Guttenbergh*] went off to *Strasburg*,
 „ taking some of the workmen along with him. After this breach, o-
 „ thers having learn'd the art from *Faust*, left him, and settled some at
 „ *Frankfort*, and others elsewhere; especially when the city of *Mentz*,
 „ was taken ¹ ann. 1462. and depriv'd of all its former liberties, where-
 „ by this excellent art became more publick and universally known. „
 Thus far *Salmuth*, whose account is confirm'd by the author of the *En-*
*comium Chalcographiæ*². *J. Arnold Bergellanus* (who wrote an elegy upon
 the dissension between those two persons, in which he seems to favour
Guttenbergh more than *Faust*, and to have follow'd *Wimpheling*; who out
 of love to his fellow-citizen, for he represents *Guttenbergh* as born at
Strasburgh, and not to have remov'd to *Mentz*, till he had almost per-
 fected the art) makes him the chief person in this discovery; yet menti-
 ons both the law-suit and the decree, as well as the deed before men-
 tion'd; but differs from *Salmuth* in affirming that the law-suit was not
 yet ended when he wrote his book, which might arise from *Guttenbergh's*
 hanging it upon the hooks, and escaping to *Strasburgh*, as *Salmuth* ob-
 serves, or to *Harlem*, as others believe. However, this is evident, and a-
 greed on by all hands, that there was an end at once to all their part-
 nership, into which he was only admitted for the sake of his purse,
 which was absolutely necessary to *Faust*.

FROM all these testimonies, which are not only quoted, but strongly
 assented to by the judicious *Malincrot*³, I shall make one or two remarks
 in favour of *Mentz* and *Faust*, which are; 1. that among all the learn-

¹ The city of *Mentz* formerly a very weal-
 thy city of the Empire, was taken thro' a
 stratagem, by the Archbishop *Adolph*, in the
 night preceding St. *Simon and Jude* in the year

1462, and plunder'd and depriv'd of its freedom.

² Vid *Malinkrot*. p. 77.

³ Vid. *Malinkrot*. c. 9.

ed I have convers'd with, whose curiosity hath lead them to search into the rise and progress of Printing, and all the writers upon this subject I could ever meet with, not one has pretended to have seen any book printed in *John Guttenberg's* name, even in the oldest monuments remaining of the infancy of this art, whether printed upon wood, or by separate metal types: 2. That on the contrary, where there is any mention made of either printer or place, it is still in *Faust's* and *Schoeffer's* name.

THEREFORE until there is some better proof of *Guttenberg's* name, either jointly with the other two, or separately, or some book produc'd with it, it seems evident beyond contradiction, that the glory of this invention is wholly due to *John Faust*, and the improving and perfecting it to his son-in-law *Peter Schoeffer*, exclusive of *John Guttenberg*: this I hope, will suffice to justify my conjecture, that either *Trithemius* mistook the names, or the editor of his second chronicle chang'd them, to make it agree with his first, and to satisfy the reader, that I had good reasons and authority to forbear mentioning *Guttenberg* among the first inventors: I shall only add with respect to the learned *Salmuth* that he prefaces this account with a succinct relation of the improvements which the ingenious *Peter Schoeffer* made to the art, as the invention of Punches, Matrices, &c. as likewise of the difficulties which they met afresh, by reason of the softness of the metal in which they had cast their first types, and of his finding out a new mixture which fully answer'd the design: lastly that *Faust* was so pleas'd with his servants ingenuity, that he made him his son-in-law. This passage which I have here subjoin'd¹ is so exactly like that out of *Trithemius's* second Chronicle that one might easily be induc'd to think he had copy'd it from him, were it not that this letter was neither printed or indeed known, till almost a whole cen-

¹ Cæterum in exercenda hac nova arte, operis quibusdam usus est *Faustus*, in quibus fuit *Petrus Schoeffer Gernsheimensis*, qui cum heri sui institutum percepisset, magno illius artis studio incensus est & quia ingenio valebat, animum ad illam amplificandam adjecit, ac singulari Dei instinctu, rationem inivit, quâ Characteres Matrîci, ut vocant, inciderentur & ex ea funderentur. Alphabeto hoc modo inciso, characteres inde fusos, *Fausto* hero suo ostendit,

quibus ille usque adeo exhilaratus est, ut ei protinus filiam suam unicam desponderet, ac paulo post in uxorem daret: quamvis autem in hoc genere Characterum aliqua difficultas suborta esset, propterea quod materia mollior esset, quam ut pressuræ resistere posset, tamen mox ejusmodi mixtura inventa fuit quæ vim præli aliquandiu sustinere potuit. *Appen. ad tit. de Typogr. p. 312.*

tury after *Salmuth* wrote, as appears by *Camerarius's* letter prefix'd to his book, and dated from *Naremburg ann. 1596.*

THE learned *Wimpheling* claims the next rank, as being contemporary with *Trithemius*, and a no less diligent searcher after the memorable things of his own country. He wrote his book *ann. 1502* or *1504*, wherein is the following account, *viz. „* That in the year *1440*, when *„ Ferdinand* was *Emperor* of the *Romans*, that great and almost divine *„ gift*, the discovery of a new way of writing, was bestow'd upon man- *„ kind* by *John Guttenbergh*; who having first invented the art of Print- *„ ing*, went afterwards to *Mentz*, where he perfected it. *„ —* The rest of the passage, which relates chiefly to the promulgation of the art, and the Printers who enrich'd and signaliz'd themselves by it, we shall refer to the second book, to which it properly belongs.

I have already remark'd something of *Wimpheling's* partiality to his own city *Strasburg*: and indeed 'tis what the reader may observe in all authors, whose country laid the least claim to this invention; *Faust* for having carry'd on the business with all possible secrecy, and scarce being known out of his own city till the dispersion of his workmen; they, wherever they settled, challeng'd to themselves the honour of this discovery, or at least of being co-adjutors to the inventor, as we shall shew in its proper place. However the reader will see with pleasure how our author retracts his too great liberality to his fellow-citizen, in another work, *viz.* his catalogue of the Bishops of *Strasburg*, wherein he expresses himself thus: *„ Under that Bishop Robert of Bavaria* was the noble art of Printing found out by a certain *Strasburgher*, tho' in an *„ imperfect* manner; but upon his going to *Mentz* unto other practitioners of that art, by the directions of one *John Gensfleisch*, an old gentleman blind with age, the art was perfected, in the house call'd *Gut- „ tenbergh* in [*English Good-bill*] where the College of Lawyers now *„ stands*, to the eternal honour of the *German* nation.

THERE is no need to observe to the reader, the difference between this passage and the former; nor to inquire whether it was out of remorse, or upon better information, that the author gave this latter account; but it will be proper to remark, that *Gensfleisch* is another name given by several writers to *Faust*, or perhaps a nick-name which he was known by, it signifying goose-flesh: so that our author has attributed to

him at least the glory of having practis'd the art at *Mentz* before *Guttenbergh* came, and to have directed him in perfecting what he had in vain attempted at *Strasburg*. The reader may likewise observe that *Guttenbergh* seems to have been thus denominated from the house so call'd, in which *Faust* and he carried on the business, till their mutual discords parted them.

JOHN NAUCLERUS author of the universal history, which is divided into generations,¹ tells us, that this art of Printing with metal types was discover'd at *Mentz* under the Emperor *Ferdinand III.* ann. 1440; and extols the genius of *Germany*, as for other glorious inventions, such as Guns, &c. so more particularly for this of Printing, which he makes a large encomium upon. He liv'd near the times of this invention, viz. ann. 1450, and tho' he mentions not the authors of it, yet since he says it was discover'd at *Mentz* ann. 1440, it is plain he could mean none but *Faust*, seeing no books were printed there for many years after, but by him and his son-in-law.

NEITHER have the poets of those times been wanting in celebrating this invention, from which alone they and their works could expect that immortality, which they confer upon the *Great* and *Good*. We have quoted some of them in the preceding chapter, as *Laurentius Valla* an *Italian*, and *Sebastian Brand* a *German*; tho' this last being a native of *Strasburgh*, and afterwards Mayor of that city, we will not pretend to determine whether what he sings of the *Rhenish* nation and the *German* genius be meant of *Mentz* or his own city: however 'tis evident that he never dreamt of *Holland* or *Harlem*. But let us now hear *Conrad Celt*, the first *German* Poet-Laureat, who speaking of the river *Rhine* has the following Tetraſtich upon the city of *Mentz*²;

*Famque Mogunciacam vastus te flectis in urbem,
Quæ prima impressas tradidit ære notas;
Qualem ego te memorem? talem qui invenerit artem,
Italicis, Graiis plus memorande viris.*

IN another elegy³ he expresses his desire of visiting that famous city, which had taught the *Germans* this excellent method of writing without

¹ Histor. Univer. Gen. 49.

² Amor. lib. 3. Eleg. 13.

Ibid. Eleg. 1.

pen,

pen, &c. I hope to be excus'd the pains of a larger collection of this nature ; the reader may find plenty of such poetical encomiums upon this art in *Malinkrot's* history, chap. 2. and elsewhere. But I cannot omit inserting a short passage out of the famous *Swedish* poet *Nicodemus Frischlin*, who in his *Julius Redivivus*, a comedy in praise of *Germany* and the Art of Printing, has these lines,

—— *primus Inventor [Typographiæ] Moguntiaë*
Vixit, fatale nomen adeptus Fausti. ——

soon after which he gives an elegant description of the wonderful change produc'd by this art : which render'd the *Germans*, (before a rude and illiterate people) able to teach the most polite nations of *Europe*, by its admirable quickness in multiplying of books, which is elegantly express'd by *Campanus* bishop of *Aleria* in this verse,

Imprimit illa die quantum non scribitur anno.

To return to the historians of later date ; *Peter Apian*, who for his incomparable skill in mathematicks had the honour to be tutor to the Emperor *Charles V.* assures us¹ that *Mentz*, a frontier town between high and low *Germany*, was the place where Printing was discover'd by *John Faust*, ann. 1453. *Sebastian Munster*, another Cosmographer, gives a larger account of this invention², tho' he seems to follow *Trithemius* and those who place *Guttenbergh* at the head of the triumvirate : his words are these, „ From the year 1440 to the year 1450 the noble Art of Printing was „ discover'd at *Mentz*; thence it was carry'd to *Cologne*, then to *Stras-* „ *burgh*, *Basil*, and at last to *Venice*. Its first author and inventor was „ *John Guttenbergh*, otherwise call'd *Zunjungen*, who had two other „ citizens for assistants, viz. *John Faust* and *John Medimbach*, who kept „ this art very secret, having sworn their servants not to divulge it. „

¹ *Cosmograph. lib. 2.*

² Ab anno 1440 usque ad ann. 1450 nobilis ars imprimendi Moguntia reperta est ; ea Moguntia Coloniam, deinde Argentinam. & Basiliam, tandem Venetias delata est. Primus ejus author & inventor Johannes Guttenbergius, qui

Zunjungen dicebatur, isque cives alios duos Moguntinos adjuutores habuit : Johannem Faustum & Johannem Medimbachium, qui artem hanc in secreto tenuerunt, famulis de ea non propaganda jurejurando constrictis, Munster. Cosmograph. lib. 5. c. 159. apud Malinkrot c. 2. p. 14.

Mutius, who wrote his *German Chronicle* ann. 1539 attributes the invention of Guns, and soon after that of Printing, to *Mentz*. But the most illustrious testimony in favour of *Faust*, is that of the great collector of *German antiquities* *John Aventine*, to this purpose: ¹ „ In the year
 „ 1450 *John Faust*, citizen of *Mentz* in *Germany*, confer'd on man-
 „ kind a great and truly divine gift, viz. a new method of writing,
 „ undoubtedly reveal'd to him from heaven, commonly call'd *Chalco-*
 „ *graphy* or Printing, which he invented and perfected within the space
 „ of two years. This gentleman, like an indulgent father, study'd how
 „ to preserve learning and excellent Books to posterity, which must o-
 „ therwise have perish'd, thro' the carelessness and indolence of these
 „ times; had not this art (by which one man can print as many pages
 „ in a day, as several hands can write in a year,) quoted before, given
 „ new vigour to men's genius, made learning flourish, render'd books
 „ so cheap as to be a purchase for students of the lowest fortunes, and
 „ excited men to the study of arts and sciences by the plenty of learned
 „ works which it hath afforded us. This divine invention was kept pri-
 „ vate by *John Faust* and *Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim*, to whom he had
 „ given his only daughter *Christina* in marriage; and all their workmen
 „ were bound by an oath not to disclose it. Ten years after this, *John*
 „ *Guttenbergh* of *Strasburgh*, one of *Faust's* servants, divulg'd it in Ger-
 „ many. *Ulric Han* a fellow-citizen of his, and *Xyxtus Resius* brought it
 „ to *Rome* and *Italy*; where, within my memory, *Aldus Manutius*, a
 „ person design'd for the restoration of learning, signaliz'd himself, &c.

¹ Hoc anno 1450. magnum ac vere divi-
 num beneficium *Johannes Faustus Germanus*,
 civis *Moguntinus*, generi humano contulit, no-
 vum scribendi genus haud dubie coelitus revela-
 tum (quod chalcographiam, excusoriam, im-
 pressoriamque vocare solent) invenit & biennio
 complevit. Consuluit pater indulgentissimus
 honestis literis, autoribus præclaris, de quibus
 actum fuisset; ita torpore languescimus, adeo
 delicatuli sumus, fugitantesque laborum; tantum
 literarum uno mense ab uno homine imprimi-
 tur, quantum uno anno a pluribus scriberetur;
 quod *Campanus Aprutinus* pontifex uno versu
 elegantissime scribit.

Imprimit illa die &c. ut supra.

Hinc indies magis ingenia vigent, studia lite-
 rarum florescunt, copia librorum parvo are e-
 genis suppetit, omnes ad capeffendas præclaras
 artes tantum librorum commoditate alliciun-
 tur. Hoc cœlestissimum munus a *Fausto* &
Petro Schoeffer de Gernsheim genero suo, cui u-
 nicam filiam *Christinam* desponderat, inter se-
 creta, adactis omnibus sociis ad fidem jurisju-
 randi religione habitam. Decimo post anno
Fausti minister *Johannes Guttenbergius Argentor-*
atensis in *Germania* vulgavit. Municeps hu-
 jus *Ulricus Han*, hoc est *Gallus*, & *Xyxtus Resi-*
us Romæ, Italiaque intulere; ubi hoc artificio,
 mea memoria, *Aldus ille Manutius*, vir ad in-
 staurandas literas natus, claruit. — *Annal.*
Boicor. lib. 7. de Typographia.

The

The remainder of this passage chiefly relates to the dispersion and promulgation of the art; and therefore is unnecessary to be set down here. There is but one thing in this quotation that can puzzle the reader; which is, that the author makes *Guttenbergh* to have been one of *Faust's* servants, instead of his partner and usurer as has been shewed already; in the rest he exactly agrees with the writers quoted before. With respect to the disagreement among authors concerning the names of the first inventors, if we remember that *Guttenbergh*, to evade the sentence pronounced against him at *Mentz*, departed with some of *Faust's* workmen to *Strasburgh*, it will not appear improbable that some, who wrote at a distance, might confound him with those servants, especially considering that his name was never in any Book printed at *Mentz*. However 'tis plain that a place of one writer mistaken by another, has been the occasion of leading many more, who have follow'd him implicitly, into the same error. An instance of this, which will be no digression from our history, is as follows.

THE authors who have follow'd *Peter Ramus*, from *Sabellicus*, *Züringer*, &c. down to *Paul Pater*, author of the treatise *De Germaniæ Miraculo* [the Art of Printing] publish'd ann. 1709 have ascrib'd this invention to *J. Regiomontanus*, and thought they did the Art no small honour, in making so great a Mathematician its author. What seem'd to confirm their opinion was, that *Faust*, *Guttenbergh* and he were contemporaries, and 'tis probable, liv'd near each other; tho' he afterwards remov'd to *Nurembergh*. What made this still more probable was, that *Regiomontanus* perfectly understood Mechanicks, so that, as it is said, he made an iron Flyspring from under his hand, fly round the room with a humming noise, and return back under his hand; he is likewise reported to have made a wooden Eagle, which flew from *Nurembergh* to meet the Emperor, hover'd over his head in a tonick motion, and went back the same way with him. It would be dangerous now to assert the truth of these stories, since such flights of ingenuity have been so long discourag'd, to make way for more useful inventions; yet *Jul. Scaliger* was so far from doubting of them, that he pretends to have found out the Art, and bragg'd that he could perform the like with a wet finger. However this was sufficient to persuade our authors that *Regiomontanus*, reputed so universal an artist, was most probably the person who invented the

the method of Printing, and communicated it to *Faust* and *Guttenbergh*; in consequence of which they have plac'd him at the head of the other two. Nevertheless this notion seems to take its rise from a passage in *Purbach's* tables, wherein 'tis said that the discovery of Printing is to be refer'd to the times of *Regiomontanus*, as *Malinkrot* has fully prov'd. This story, I hope, will both convince the reader of the danger of following an author too implicitly, and justify my differing from the generality of those who attribute the discovery to *John Guttenbergh*, whose opinion I apprehend to be sufficiently confuted. Setting aside this mistake of *P. Ramus* with respect to *Regiomontanus*, he agrees with the rest of our other testimonies in favour of *Faust*; and I conceive it to be not in the least improbable, that the inventors might, in such a variety of tools, implements, and other things necessary to the perfecting this Art, have recourse to him or some other ingenious person, for advice and assistance.

HOWEVER it is certain that *Regiomontanus* was a very early printer, tho' not taken notice of as such by any writer I have met with. I did indeed believe him to have been an assistant in perfecting of the Art, but never could meet with any sufficient authority to fix the honour upon him, till I was admitted into the Library of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke*, whom I beg leave to take this first opportunity of mentioning with honour and gratitude, not only for his great condescension in allowing me a free access to his noble Collections of antient Editions, but likewise for several very curious hints upon this subject, which shall be mention'd in their proper places; here it was that his Lordship was pleas'd to shew me the following great curiosity, viz. *Manilius* in 4to. with these words at the end.

Ex Officina Johannis de Regiamente in Nuremberg.

THE antiquity of this curious Edition shews it self at first sight, tho' there be no date to it, a circumstance much to be lamented, tho' too common to many of those antient monuments in the infancy of the Art. I must therefore be oblig'd to rank it with the rest of these dateless works, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel of this history: it is evident this is an older edition than that mention'd by *Fabricius* of 1474, which

which 'tis reasonable to suppose, not only by his being contemporary with, but assistant to, *Faust* in perfecting this art: however as *Regiomontanus* was a man of such profound skill in astronomy, mechanicks, and several other branches of learning, I am willing to hope time will bring forth some further testimonies concerning him.

BUT what convinces me that he had no share in the first discovery of the Art, is that in his long dedication prefix'd to his *Astronomical Tables*; the first piece he ever publish'd, which I have seen, and which is dedicated to the Primate of *Hungary*, he doth not make the least mention of his having been concern'd in such a noble discovery, which it is reasonable to suppose he would have done, could he have claim'd such a singular piece of merit to have recommended him to so great a patron; especially when he expatiates so much upon the difficulties that attended the work he dedicates to him: but to return.

I apprehend a probable objection against the testimonies before quoted (which are scarce a fourth part of those collected by *Malinkrot*,) that they are taken from *Germans*, who may be reasonably suppos'd too partial to their country, and consequently less to be relied on than foreign writers, whose authority would be of far greater weight in this case. This I shall obviate by shewing, that learned authors of other nations are consistent with the *Germans* in this particular. I have already cited two poets, the one an *Italian*, the other a *Swede*; the former of whom ascribes this discovery to *Germany*, and the latter to *John Faust* of *Mentz*. My next design is to produce some of those, who are eminent for their enquiries into the antiquities of their own and other countries. At the head of these stands *Polydore Vergil*, an *Italian*, who in his Book *de Rerum Inventoribus*, after an elegant encomium upon the Art, and a description of its important benefits to mankind, proceeds thus 'Wherefore that the author of such a discovery may not be depriv'd of his due praise, and that posterity may know to whom we are in-

Quare tantæ rei author non est sua laude fraudandus, præsertim ut posteritas sciat, cui divinum acceptum beneficium referre debeat. Itaque *Johannes Gutttembergius* natione *Teutonicus*, equestri vir dignitate, ut ab ejus civibus accepimus, primus omnium in oppido *Germania*, quam *Moguntiam* vocant, hanc imprimendarum literarum artem excogitavit, primumque

in ea exercere ccepit; non minore industria reperto ab eodem, prout ferunt, authore, novo atramenti genere, quo nunc literarum impressores utuntur. Decimo sexto deinde anno, qui fuit salutis humanæ MCCCCLVIII. quidam nomine *Conradus*, homo itidem *Germanus*, primum in *Italiam* attulit, &c. lib. 2. cap. 7.

debted

„ debted for this divine gift; it was *John Guttenbergh*, by nation a Ger-
 „ man, and a Knight, who first devis'd this Art of Printing Books in
 „ the city of *Mentz*, and began to practise it there, as we have been
 „ inform'd by the citizens themselves; he is reported likewise to have
 „ made another discovery, viz. of a new kind of Ink, us'd now by
 „ all printers. Sixteen years after this, ann. 1457, one *Conrad* a Ger-
 „ man, brought it first to *Rome*, &c. „ — Our author makes no men-
 tion of any but *Guttenbergh*; yet as he says the Art was first practis'd at
Mentz, 'tis plain from what has been said before, that he deserv'd not
 the first name in this invention. The citizens who gave this account,
 were certainly those that dispers'd themselves from *Faust*; who, though
 they learn'd the Art of him, yet might esteem *Guttenbergh* the first au-
 thor, because he was most considerable; and not unlikely lorded it over
 the rest, who he knew, could not carry on the business without his purse;
 whilst *Faust*, whose chief care was to conceal the Art, till he had reim-
 burs'd himself so far as to be able to carry it on without his help, might
 let him enjoy the honour of the discovery in the mean time. What
 confirms my conjecture is, that if *Conrad* arriv'd at *Rome* in the year
 1457 he must have left *Mentz* before *Faust* and *Schoeffer* had printed a-
 ny Books with their names. However in this case *Faust* would not be
 the only man, whose indigence and honesty have been inducements to
 part with the credit of a beneficial discovery to a person of less merit,
 rather than to let it die with him, for want of means to carry it on.

THE following author *Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis*, who is doubtful
 concerning the genuine inventor, may easily be set right, from what
 has been already said. He tells us, „ that the Art of Printing was
 „ first brought to light in *Germany*, about the year 1457; that the dis-
 „ covery was by some attributed to *Guttenbergh* of *Strasburgh*, by others
 „ to one *Faust*, and by a third sort to *Nicholas Genson* or *Jenson*, that
 „ the authors of it got immense riches, &c. „ With relation to this *Jen-
 son*, it will appear by the sequel of this history, that he was only one of
 those who first carry'd the Art into *Italy*, where he distinguish'd himself

▪ *Jacob. Philip. Bergomens. lib. 15. supplem. Chronic. ad ann. 1458.* Ars imprimendi libros his temporibus in *Germania* primum enata est, quam alii repertam esse asseverant a *Cuthimber-*

gio Argentino: alii a quodam alio, nomine *Fauf-
 to*; alii a *Nicolao Genson* prædicant; pro qua in-
 numerabiles authores ipsi congregarunt divitias,
 &c.

by his fine impressions, &c. but never made the least pretences to the invention. There is no necessity of repeating what has so often been said concerning *Guttenbergh*, whom *Palmerius* of *Pisa* asserts to have been the author of this discovery about the year 1440; his words are as follow:
 „ What obligations the learned world hath to the *German* nation, cannot be sufficiently express'd; for the Art of Printing, which had been invented by *John Guttenbergh Zum-jungen*, a knight of *Mentz* upon the *Rhine*, about the year 1440, is at this time (*viz. ann. 1457*) divulg'd almost throughout the world; by which the works of the antients may be purchas'd at a small price, and be read in an infinite number of volumes since printed. There are a prodigious many more authors, who, tho' they do not mention either the names of the inventors, or the place of the discovery, yet unanimously give the honour of it to *Germany*; and even *Paulus Jovius*, who ascribes the invention of wooden planks to the *Chinese*, from whom it was brought into *Europe*, by the way of *Scythia* and *Muscovy*, when he speaks of the other method of Printing, says, it is no wonder that several arts and sciences owe their birth to the *Germans*, since the noble discovery, of metal types, as well as that of brass cannons, was found out by them.²

My next testimony is that of the celebrated politician *John Ruterus*, who not only in his historical relations attributes the invention of Guns and Printing to the *German* nation, but confirms it more fully in his book *de fortuna illustrium virorum*, &c. where he says, „ That he will not contend about the author of Printing; but gratefully acknowledge the singular gift of God in it, seeing one man can print as much in one day, as the best hand can write in a whole year; for there is scarce (continues he) a Press, especially in the *German* Printing

¹ Quantum literarum studiosi Germanis debeant nullo satis dicendi genere exprimi potest: namque a *Johanne Guttenberg Zum-jungen*, equite *Moguntia*, *Rheni*, solerti ingenio librorum imprimendorum ratio anno 1440 inventa, hoc tempore in omnes fere orbis partes propagatur, qua omnis antiquitas parvo ære comparata posterioribus infinitis voluminibus legitur. *Chronica ad ann. 1457.*

² Lib. 14. Histor.

³ *Ruterus's* his words, as I find them translated by *Gaspard Eufus* in *Malinkrot*, p. 19.

are these. “ De Authore artis impressoriæ hic non digladiabor: summum id Dei beneficium grato animo nos sedulo decet agnoscere; ab uno enim homine uno die tantum literarum imprimitur, quantum vix toto anno scribi posset; singulis enim diebus in quolibet prelo in *Germanorum* typographiis ter mille sexcentæ chartæ, nonnunquam etiam quater mille, interdum ultra, &c.”

E „ houses.

„ houses, which doth not print off 3600 sheets *per diem*, nay some
 „ 4000, and others exceed even that number. „

I shall conclude this chapter with a passage out of the great Monsieur
Thevet, cosmographer to the king of *France*, not only because his autho-
 rity will easily out-balance that of all the *Dutch* writers, but likewise be-
 cause there are some particulars in it which will be acceptable to the rea-
 der. As it is something prolix, I shall only extract the most remarkable
 part, as follows :¹ „ This art [of Printing] is believ'd to have been first
 „ invented at *Mentz* in *Germany*, about the year 1442. by *John Guttен-*
 „ *bergh*, a *German* knight ; who began his first essays of it there, and
 „ found out a new sort of ink, now us'd by the Printers : but there are
 „ some writers of opinion that this honour rather belong'd to *John Faust*
 „ and *Ives* [in latin *Ivo*] *Schoeffer* two years before that time, and affirm
 „ that *Guttенbergh*, *John Mentel* and others [whose names our author
 „ quotes out of *Pantaleon*] all *Germans*, improv'd afterwards the art, and
 „ divulg'd it in several parts of *Germany* ; and at length carry'd it to fo-
 „ reign nations. Others write that this art came originally from *China*
 „ and *Cathai* ; but this assertion is without any foundation, seeing the
 „ *East-Indies* were not discover'd by the *Portugese* till about 65 years ago ;
 „ whereas Printing has been invented and practis'd ever since 1442.
 „ *Paul* the *Venetian* indeed gave the first description of that country about
 „ 400 years ago, but made not the least mention of Printing being us'd
 „ there. A confirmation of my opinion is, that the *Greeks*, *Mingrelians*,
 „ *Abyssines*, *Turks*, *Persians*, *Moors*, *Arabs* and *Tartars* write all their
 „ books by hand, this method was ordain'd in *Turkey* by an edict of *Ba-*
 „ *jazet* II. who prohibited the use of printed books under pain of death
 „ ann. 1483 ; which edict was confirm'd by *Selim I. Bajazet's* son ann.
 „ 1515. Besides this, whilst I was in *Egypt*, I saw several books so neat-
 „ ly written on the bark of palm-trees, that they might be taken for
 „ printed ones. The merchants, which bring their wares from *India*
 „ through the *Red-sea*, make use of the same sort of written books, some
 „ of which are now to be seen at the library of the Queen dowager at
 „ *St. German's* in the fields near *Paris*. Others pretend that this art of
 „ Printing has been carry'd as far as *Mexico*, which kingdom is directly

¹ *Thevet's Lives and Pictures of Illustrious Persons*, ch. 97.

„ opposite to *Cathai*, the one being in *Asia* towards the south, and the
 „ other in *America* towards the north-pole. However it must be own'd
 „ that the *Americans* write with characters, representing several kinds of
 „ beasts, fish, fowl, the different parts of human bodies, and the like;
 „ by which they express their mind, as the *Egyptians* did formerly. — I
 „ have two of those books by me, with an interpretation of their hiero-
 „ glyphicks. The goddess *Minerva* is said to have been the inventress
 „ of learning and war; and the *Germans* have imitated her in both these
 „ respects, by the invention of bombs and printing, which were certain-
 „ ly discover'd by them. One fault however that nation labours under,
 „ which somewhat eclipses their glory, which is, that they know not how,
 „ or at least neglect to improve those inventions, that were so easily
 „ found out by them. „ — The author proceeds in an encomium up-
 „ on the art and those who rais'd it to greater perfection; but that belongs
 „ to another chapter.

I hope that the testimonies produc'd hitherto will be more than suffici-
 ent to fix the palm upon *Faust* and the city of *Mentz*; and that the reader
 will follow me with pleasure to the next chapter, where they will be con-
 firm'd by incontestable matters of fact.

C H A P. IV.

Authentick Facts in favour of Faust and Mentz.

IF the testimonies alledg'd in the preceding chapter are insufficient to
 convince any person that this invention is due to *Faust*; what follows
 in this will, I conceive, put it quite out of doubt, unless he be more in-
 credulous in this case than a *Dutchman*: for the great *Erasmus* has not on-
 ly own'd himself convinc'd of this truth by one single fact, but even
 transmitted it to posterity. I shall therefore begin with that noble testi-
 mony, which is a privilege granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* to *John*
Schoeffer, grand-son of *John Faust*, not only for the sole printing the
 works of *T. Livy* (at the end of which, the privilege is annex'd, printed by
 the said *John Schoeffer* at *Mentz*, ann. 1499), but likewise prohibiting all
 persons to reprint either the said book, or any other which should be af-

terwards printed by him, in consideration of his being grand-son to the first Inventor of the art of Printing: concerning whom *Erasmus*, who first publish'd that work, speaks in his preface to it as follows: „ If those, „ who furnish'd *Origen* and *St. Jerom* with writers and parchments, have „ merited the highest commendation; what praise is due to Printers and „ Bookfellers, who supply us with whole volumes for a small price? If „ *Ptolemy Philadelphus* acquir'd such reputation, for collecting so great „ a library; what recompence can be made to those, who furnish us „ daily with books in all languages? But amongst all these, to whom „ we are so much oblig'd, we must gratefully remember the first inven- „ tor of this divine secret; *John Faust* grand father to *John Schoeffer*. „ Thus far *Erasmus*, without the least mention of his countryman *Coster*. With respect to the Emperor's privilege, it could not be suspected of any partiality to *Faust* rather than to *Guttenbergh*, or to *Mentz* rather than *Strasburg*, &c. since they were equally under his dominion.

THE next fact to be related, is that of the tools, old types, &c. of the inventors, preserv'd in *Mentz*, above 130 years at least after the sack- ing of that city ann. 1462, and view'd before that time by some eminent persons, as curious relicks of the art: among others, *John Arnold Bergellanus*¹ assures us, that he had seen them there; and *Nic. Serrarius*² says, they were then kept at *Mentz* in a house in the street call'd *Keyser's garden*, and shewn to him by one *Albinus* a Printer. We need not bring a greater number of authors to attest this, seeing it may likely be esteem'd but a weak proof by some of our readers; but if they will consider what noise *Junius* and *Scrivenerius* have made about some trifles (compar'd to these) preserv'd at *Harlem* in memory of *Coster*, according to a tradi- tion of two or three old gentlemen; they will not wonder that I lay some stress upon this, and choose sometimes to make use of their own wea- pons against them. I shall therefore subjoin another fact, which is the inscription set up at *Mentz* by *Ives* of *Witigen* or *Venza*, doctor of laws, and professor in that university, in the inner court of the college of law-

¹ Hodie vetustissima quædam in eum (impri-
mendi sc.) usum ab authoribus comparata, quæ
vidi, instrumenta extant Moguntia. *Bergellan.*
in præfat. *Eccon. sui Typograph.*

² ——— adjiciantur primi denique artis hu-

jus modioli, quos antiqua hic (*Moguntia enim*
scribebat) domus in *Cesarini* horti platea custo-
dit, quosque mihi insuper *Albinus* typographus,
monstrabat. *Nichol. Serrarius de Rebus Mogun-*
tin. l. 1. c. 37.

yers. *Johanni Guttenbergenfi Moguntino, qui primus omnium literas ære imprimendas invenit, hac arte de toto orbe bene merenti, Ivo Witigenfis hoc saxum pro monumento posuit, anno 1508.* This inscription tho' it favours *Guttenbergh* more than *Faust*, is more authentick than any of those three brought by *Junius* for *Coster*, the last of which as *Malinkrot* observes, is either written or at least publish'd by him; the second is but a few years older, and the first not plac'd over *Coster's* door 'till after *Junius* had publish'd his description of *Holland*.

A proof still stronger is the inscriptions found in the oldest books printed at *Mentz*, wherein that city is styl'd the mother and inventress of printing. If *Harlem* or any other city could have shewn a juster title to this honour, it is surprizing that this place should have enjoy'd it for above 125 years without the least contradiction, and that no *Dutch* writer did so much as attempt, in all that long interval, to confute those known and remarkable *colophons* or inscriptions, which *Faust* began to print at the end of his books, when he could no longer conceal his discovery; and in which he gives an account of the inventors and manner in which the books were done, first negatively, viz. *not with pen and ink or any other writing instruments*, and then affirmatively, *but by a new art of casting types and printing*; to which he adds the city of *Mentz* as the place where they were printed; and concludes with the date of the month and year when they were finish'd. We shall only subjoin some of the oldest and most remarkable of them for the present.

I begin with that which is at the end of the *Codex Psalmorum*, printed an. 1457, and consequently the oldest book known to be printed with a date or inscription. It is in the Emperor's library at *Vienna*; and *Peter Lambec* who was library keeper, gives this account of it¹; that he met with one of them there printed on vellum, at the end of which was this remarkable account of the origin of printing, viz. *This present Book of Psalms, embellish'd with beautiful capitals, and illuminated with all necessary*

¹ Reperi interea unum impressum in membrana, in cujus fine de origine artis typographicæ hoc legitur testimonium. „ Præfens „ psalmorum codex, venustate capitalium decoratus, rubricationibusque sufficienter distinctus, ac inventione artificiosa imprimendi ac characterisandi, absque calami exaratio-

„ ne sic effigiatus, ad eusebiam Dei industrie est „ consummatus per Johannem Fust civem Moguntinum & petrum Schoeffer de Grasheim, „ anno Domini Milleesimo CCCCLVII in vigilia assumptionis. „ Lib. 2. Bibliothec. Vindobon. pag. 989.

rubricks, was thus form'd by an ingenious invention of printing by separate Types, without pen or writing, and finish'd with great care, for the service of God, by John Faust, citizen of Mentz, and Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim, in the year of our Lord One Thousand CCCCLVII, on the eve of the assumption, i. e. Aug. 14.

THE next impresson is the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* of William Durand, printed at Mentz an. 1459. in fol. Malinkrot has it, and tells us that it had been formerly bequeath'd to the monastery of Galilea near Zutphen (a place afterwards destroy'd in the civil wars,) to be kept chain'd in the library; and for which the donors were to be pray'd for, together with their whole generation. The inscription at the end of it being exactly the same with that of the Book of Psalms, needs not be repeated here. It is likewise mention'd by Hoffman in the second volume of his *Lexicon Universale* printed at Basil ann. 1677; who says he saw it in the library of that university, bearing date 1459, he calls it *Officiale Durandi*, p. 508, and gives this inscription at the end, *præfens hoc*, &c. as before.

THE next in date is the *Catholicon*, a latin vocabulary, the same which is affirm'd by Tritemius to have been printed in wood some time before 1450, and which was reprinted at Mentz ann. 1460. I have seen two of these books, one in the Earl of Pembroke's library, and the other in the learned Dr. Mead's, with this very remarkable colophon at the end; „ By the assistance of the most high God, at whose nod „ the tongues of infants become eloquent, and who often reveals that „ to babes which he conceals from the wise; this excellent book, the „ *Catholicon* was finish'd in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1460, in „ the city of Mentz belonging to the noble German nation (which God „ of his goodness has vouchsaf'd to prefer to other nations, and of his „ free gift to make conspicuous by this glorious invention) this work was „ done, not by the help of quill, pencil or any writing instrument, but

Altissimi præsidio, ejus nutu infantium linguæ sunt disertæ, quique nimio sæpe parvulis revelat, quod sapientes celat; hic liber egregius *Catholicon*, Dominicæ incarnationis anno MCCCCLX, alma in urbe *Maguntina*, nationis inclytæ *Germanicæ* (quam Dei clementia tam alto ingenii lumine, donoque gratuito, cæteris nationibus præferre illustrareque dignatus est) non calami, styli, aut pennæ suffragio, sed mi-

ra patronarum formarumque concordia, proportionè & modulo impressus atque confectus est.

Hinc tibi, sancte Pater, Nato, cum Flamine sacro

Laus & honor, Domino trino tribuatur & uno; Ecclesiæ laude libro hoc Catholice plaude; Qui laudare piam semper non linque *Marsam*.

Deo gratias.

„ by

„ by the agreement, symmetry, and proportion of the printing-prefs. „ then follows a doxology in four *latin* verses to this purpose;

To thee Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three in one, be honour and praise: O Catholick reader give thanks for this book in the church, and never cease to praise the blessed Virgin Mary.

Thanks be to God.

THIS book, tho' it mentions not the printers, yet is easily known to have been done by *Faust* and *Schoeffer* from the likeness of the types, and because at that time there were no other printers at *Mentz*, or any where else.

Two years after this came out the great *Latin Bible* in folio, which I also saw in Dr. *Mead's* library, which according to *Trithemius* and the *Cologn chronicle* must be the second edition of it, the first having been printed soon after the year 1450, tho' without any colophon, whereas this has the following; „ This present work was finish'd and compleated, „ designedly for the service of God, in the city of *Mentz*, by *John Faust* „ citizen of it, and *Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim* clerk of the said diocess „ in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1462, on the vigil of the as- „ sumption of the glorious virgin *Mary*. „

It is unnecessary to remark that the word *Clerk* [*Clericus*] doth not here signify a clergyman, for 'tis plain that *Schoeffer* was not so by his marrying *Faust's* daughter, and leaving a son to succeed him; but it was usual then to give that title to men of moderate literature. Father *le Long* in his *Bibliotheca sacra* gives us the colophon of this Bible something different from ours, tho' of the same date, the reader may see it at full length in the ingenious Mr. *Mattair's* Annals page 60, not. 6.

CONCERNING this bible some writers give us the following account, which is not a little in favour of *Faust*; that it was so like hand-writing, and the titles and capitals so finely painted on vellum, that *Faust* sold some of them at *Paris* for a prodigious price: but the buyers finding a greater number upon him, than it was possible for several men to tran-

¹ Præsens hoc opus finitum ac completum & ad eusebiam Dei industrie in civitate Moguntina per Johannem Faust civem, & Petrum Schoeffer de Gernsheim clericum diocesis ejusdem,

est consummatum anno incarnationis dominicæ 1462, in vigilia assumptionis gloriose virginis Mariæ.

scribe in their whole life, and the pages of each copy so exactly alike, that he was seiz'd, try'd and condemn'd for *Magick* and *Sorcery*, and was accordingly drag'd to the stake to be burnt; but upon discovering his Art, the parliament of *Paris* made an act to discharge him from all prosecution, in consideration of his admirable invention. However 'tis not amiss to inform the reader, that his *Black Art*, for which he was so roughly treated, was printing his Bible on the *Black Letter*. I shall in its proper place give my reasons for my opinion, that the bible, which *Faust* sold for MS. was the first printed by him; in the mean time this process against him, and his discharge from it by order of that Parliament, being matter of fact, it was not foreign to our purpose to mention it here.

THE last book which we shall speak of, is, *Tully's Offices* printed ann. 1465, at the end of which are these words, „ *John Faust*, citizen of *Mentz*, happily perfected this famous Work of *Marcus Tullius*, not with pen and ink, &c. but by a new beautiful Art, by the assistance of my Boy *Peter de Gernsheim*, Feb. 4. ann. 1465, the edition at *Oxford* is dated 1466, tho' generally thought to be the same. This inscription I saw in the book which that great Lover of the antiquities of the Art of Printing, and Promoter of learning, the Right Honourable the Earl of *Oxford*, shew'd me the first time I had the honour to wait on his Lordship, and to whose kind reception and information I stand greatly indebted.

THE next inscriptions I shall mention, are those in *Peter Schoeffer's* name alone, in which there is a constant and remarkable strain of gratitude and respect for the city of *Mentz*, from which, besides other ample encouragements, he had receiv'd his freedom as a reward for his improvements in the art. As every one of them has an encomium upon that city, I shall content my self with abridging some of the first, and giving the last, which has something singular in it, at full length; and conclude this head with a remarkable one us'd by his son *John Schoeffer* at the end of some of his books.

IN the book call'd the *decisions of the Rota* printed ann. 1477, and said to be still extant in the library of *Franckfort*, he styles the city of *Mentz* the inventress and protectress of printing; in some other books,

* *Præfens Marci Tullii clarissimum opus Johannes Faust Moguntinus civis, non atramento plumali, canna, neque ærea, sed arte quadam*

perpulchra manu Petri de Gernsheim, pueri mei, feliciter effeci, finitum an. MCCCCLXV die iv Februarii.

viz. *Justinian's Institutions*, printed ann. 1468 and 1477, &c. he calls her the noble city which God has prefer'd to all others, and signaliz'd with such superior gifts, &c. the like is also to be seen at the end of *Harpianus's Speculum decem præceptorum*, printed, ann. 1474.

THE last is at the end of St. Jerom's *Epistles* in *Latin*, printed in folio upon vellum ann. 1470, one of which is in the library of St. Victor, and another at the College of Sorbon at Paris, ¹ and runs in English thus;

*Now it behoves us to conclude as we began,
The honour be to him, who was with us at the beginning;
And also honour to him, who hath been with us to the conclusion:
'Tis the churches honour to preserve so many writings of her champion,
If you design them for any, let it be for the churches honour.*

„ THIS book therefore of *Sophronius Eusebius Jerom* and [worthy its
„ author] a most eminent defender of the orthodox church of Christ; or,
„ if you rather choose to call it with me, the book of his epistles is fi-
„ nish'd, that the honour of *Jerom's* name may be preserv'd, which is
„ owing to the excellent *John Andreas*, who mov'd with a devout zeal
„ towards that holy man, formerly publish'd this work to the world.
„ This book was happily finish'd by the art of Printing by *Peter Schoef-*
„ *fer de Gernsheim* in the city of *Mentz*, to the honour of which city the

¹ Vide de la Caille's history of Printing, Paris 1689. pag. 13.

Jam decet ut nostris concordent ultima pri-
mis.

Sit Decus illi, qui dedit hoc opus initiare;

Et qui finire dedit ipsum, sit decus illi.

Est decus ecclesiæ pugilis tot scripta tenere:

Si quibus intendas est decus ecclesiæ.

Igitur *Sophronii Eusebii Ieronimi*, orthodoxæ ecclesiæ Christi propugnatoris clarissimi, liber *Hieronymianus*, aut si mavis, quod & ipse velim, liber epistolaris explicit, ut dignitas nominis *Ieronimiani* egregio viro *Joh. Andrea* permaneat, qui hoc ipsum, zelo devotionis erga virum sanctum affectus, tempore prisco vulga-

vit in orbem. Est autem opus præsens arte impressoria feliciter consummatum per *Petrum Schoeffer de Gernsheim* in civitate *Moguntina*, cujus nobilitati vir beatus *Ieronymus* scribens ad *Ageruntiam* de monogamia, testimonium perhibet sempiternum, multis millibus incolarum ejusdem in ecclesia pro fide Catholica sanguine proprio laureatis.

*Huic Laudatori reddit Moguntia vicem,
Tot sua scripta parans usibus ecclesiæ.*

Anno Domini MCCCCCLXX,
septima mensis *Septembris*,
quæ est vigilia *Nativitatis Mariae*.
Da gloriam Deo.

F

„ blessed

„ blessed St. *Jerom*, writing to *Ageruntia* concerning monogamy (or marrying but once,) has given this lasting testimony, that many thousands of its inhabitants are honour'd in the church, for having suffer'd martyrdom in defence of the catholick faith. „

*Mentz now returns him (Jerom) praise for praise,
by publishing so many of his writings for the service of the church.*

in the year of our Lord 1470, the seventh day of September, which is the eve of the nativity of the Virgin Mary. Give glory to God.

THIS is an instance how ready *Schoeffer* was to take all opportunities of expressing his love and gratitude to that city, and rendering her praise as lasting as his own works.

THE last inscription which gives a succinct account of the discovery, is at the end of *Trithemius's* breviary of history, and is as follows¹: „ This „ present chronological work was printed and finish'd *an. 1515*, on the „ eve of St. *Margaret* Virgin, in the noble and famous city of *Mentz*, „ first inventress of this art of Printing, by *John Schoeffer* grand-son of „ the worthy *John Fust* citizen of *Mentz*, the first author of this art, who „ found it out at length by his own ingenuity, and began to practise it „ *anno 1450*, in the time of the thirteenth indiction, *Frederic III* being then Emperor, and the most reverend father in God *Theodorick Pincerna de Erbach* being Prince-Elector and Arch-bishop of *Mentz*:

¹ Impressum & completum est præsens Chronicon opus *Anno Domini MDXV*, in vigilia *Margarete* virginis, in nobili famosaque urbe *Moguntina*, hujus artis impressoriae inventrice prima, per *Joannem Schoeffer* nepotem quondam honesti viri *Johan. Fust* civis *Moguntini*, memoratae artis primarii auctoris; qui tandem imprimendi artem proprio ingenio excogitare specularique coepit *ann. Dom. nativitatis MCCCCCL* indictione *xiii* regnante illustrissimo Romano imperatore *Frederico III*, presidente sanctae *Moguntinae* sedi Reverendissimo in Christo patre Domino *Theodorico Pincerna de Erbach* principe Electore; *anno autem MCCCCCLII* perfecit, deduxitque eam (Divina favente gratia) in opus imprimendi (opera tamen ac multis necessariis

adinventionibus *Petri Schoeffer de Gernsheim* ministri sui que filii adoptivi) cui etiam filiam suam *Christinam Fust* pro digna laborum multarumque adinventionum remuneratione nuptui dedit. Retinuerunt autem hi duo jam prænunciati, *Johan. Fust & Petrus Schoeffer*, hanc artem in secreto (omnibus ministris ac familiaribus eorum, ne illam quoquo modo manifestarent, jurejurando adstrictis,) quæ tandem *anno Domini MCCCCCLXII* per eosdem familiares in diversas terrarum provincias divulgata, haud parum sumpsit incrementum, Cum Gratia & Privilegio Cæsariæ Majestatis, jussu & impensis honesti *Joannis Haysperg* ex *Alia* Majore Constant. diocesis. *Breviar. Trithemian. Part. I.*

„ anno 1452. he perfected this art under God, and began to put it in
 „ practice, with the assistance of *Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim*, first a
 „ servant, and then his son-in-law; who having made many necessary in-
 „ ventions in it, had his Daughter *Christina Fust* in marriage, as a just
 „ recompence for his labour, and useful discoveries. These two above-
 „ nam'd, viz. *John Fust* and *Peter Schoeffer* kept this art secret, having
 „ taken an oath of all their workmen and servants not to divulge it
 „ in any manner whatsoever: but afterwards it was divulg'd by those
 „ very workmen anno 1462, and spread it self over several provinces of
 „ *Europe*, &c. „

THE like inscription is at the end of the *Breviarum Mindense*, printed
 anno 1516, by the same person: In both which the reader will be pleas'd
 to observe, that there is not a word mention'd of *John Guttenbergh*.

UPON the whole 'tis my opinion, that were there no other evidence
 but these inscriptions, they would be sufficient to determine this contro-
 versy, seeing neither *Harlem*, *Strasburgh*, nor any other place can pro-
 duce any thing equivalent. Had *Harlem*, for instance, any such authen-
 tick impressions in favour of *Coster*, all other testimonies of the best wri-
 ters for *Mentz* would have been rejected as inconsiderable: or if *Dr. Men-
 tel* could have produc'd any single book printed by his progenitor, of
 older or even equal date with the oldest of these, he would infallibly have
 triumph'd over all his antagonists. 'Tis certain that there is no book
 known to be printed at *Harlem* or any other place, of equal date with
 the last which were done by *Faust*, tho' it has been prov'd, that he con-
 tinu'd printing near ten years before he put his name to his impressions:
 whence it follows, that he was not only the first Printer with fusile me-
 tal types, but likewise the first inventor of them, according to the testi-
 monies quoted in the preceding chapter.

I doubt not but the reader is now willing to hear what methods the
 competitors with *Faust* take, in order to evade such a cloud of authentick
 testimonies; and what arguments they can allege in defence of their
 claim: in short, what grounds they have of triumphing in such an extra-
 ordinary manner. But I must here acquaint him, that if he expects evi-
 dence answerable to those clamours, he will be extremely disappointed in
 the two next chapters. However, since a controversy cannot be fairly

decided, unless both parties be heard in their turn ; I shall not desire the reader to believe me implicitly, but propose their pretensions in as just a light, and brief a manner as possible, together with the answers of *Malinkrot* and others to them ; to which I shall take the liberty to add my own thoughts and observations, whether they chance to illustrate and confirm, or to contradict the concurrent testimony of the early, and the establish'd notion, of the modern writers, upon the subject, and leave it to him to judge of the merit of the cause.

I hope what I said last will not be look'd upon as either a piece of presumption or ostentation in me : no man can be more ready, than I am, to own the great helps I have receiv'd from these great men, especially from *Malinkrot*, *Chevalier*, *Mattaire*, *Orlandi* and some others of less note, or my own insufficiency for such a work as this, without such an assistance ; but tho' they are all great and learned men in their way, yet for want of a sufficient acquaintance with the business of Printing, it was impossible for them not to overlook some things of moment, which a printer would easily discover at first sight, *viz.* Whether a book be MS. or printed ; whether printed from pages of wood or with separate types, in both which respects, many of them have been either puzzled or mistaken : I shall add but one instance more, not foreign to our purpose ; the famous *Monf. Naudé* directed his readers how to know the books printed by *Faust* by the mark in the paper, which he calls the *Heifer's Horns* ; *Mr. Mattaire*, who has been as curious and diligent as any one, tells us he could never observe that mark or any thing like it, whereas the very first book the *Earl of Pembroke* shew'd me of *Faust's* printing, by holding a leaf against the light, the mark appear'd very plain ; I shall beg leave to add, that the hints and helps I have had from the curious and learned, and my access to several noble libraries, have moreover enabled me to make many more curious observations, on this subject, than I could otherwise have done. Let this be said once for all.

C H A P. V.

The Pretensions of Harlem examin'd and confuted.

I Have more than once hinted, that this controversy in favour of *Harlem* was not started till above 125 years after the discovery of the art, when *Hadrian Junius*, M. D. began the dispute. During that long interval, the invention was universally ascribed to the city of *Mentz*, tho' the names of the inventors were sometimes confounded; and what ought to surprize us most of all is, that not one *Dutch* writer, during that time, ever offer'd to contradict the received opinion concerning *Faust* and *Mentz*; tho' many of them were men of great learning, and some either natives of *Harlem*, or had been educated in that university. 'Tis really wonderful, that neither regard to truth, or their country's honour, nor the common ambition of being the author of a new discovery, should have inspir'd some of them to undeceive the world in this point, if they had the least grounds of suspicion. But whatever be the reason of this unpardonable supineness in them, Dr. *Junius*, rather than fall under such a charge, undertook a task, as difficult as that *Egyptian* one, of making brick without straw. For from a collection of old traditions, wooden types, and two or three books, printed on wood, without name, date, or any other mark (by which it might be guess'd when, where, and by whom they were done), with some other transmuted relicks of the first essays of the art, he has form'd a story, which he thinks will baffle all the testimonies urg'd on the other side, and turn the panegyricks, bestow'd by the learned on the noble inventor, into the vilest calumnies. As his story is very prolix, and unnecessary to be set down at length, the following abstract may suffice.

„ THO' the glory of this art is entirely due to the city of *Harlem*;
„ yet I am sensible how deep the contrary notion in favour of *Mentz* is
„ rooted in the minds of men. — Were I blest with that eloquence which
„ *Carneades* is so fam'd for, who never affirm'd any thing but what he ful-
„ ly

„ ly prov'd, nor oppos'd any error, but what he clearly confuted; I
 „ might have just hopes to reduce this stol'n glory to its owner, and
 „ bring to light the truth, which has so long lain hid in *Democritus's*
 „ well. — For if those antients, who contended for the invention of
 „ letters, in behalf of their favourite heroes, have merited such ap-
 „ plaufe; what hinders but that I, influenc'd neither by partiality to
 „ one place, nor envy towards another, but with a sincere love to truth,
 „ should appear in so just a cause, which has been suffer'd to sink for want
 „ of advocates? — And if *Plutarch* esteems him the best evidence,
 „ who is not byass'd by favour or affection; I have a sufficient claim to
 „ it, since none of *Coster's* posterity can reward me for my performance.
 „ I shall therefore relate what has been told me by some grave and
 „ worthy old *Gentlemen*, who have fill'd the best offices in the city, and
 „ heard it from others of equal weight and authority; viz. That about
 „ 128 years ago, there liv'd at a noted house, standing to this day,
 „ over against the Royal Palace, one *Laurence John*, surnam'd *Coster*,
 „ (which word signifies a sexton or church-warden; or, in the *Romish*
 „ sense one who is intrusted with all the rich plate, sumptuous robes, &c.
 „ belonging to the parish church; a place hereditary in his family,)
 „ who was the person to whom the Art of Printing owes its original,
 „ tho' he has been unjustly depriv'd of that honour. — That walking
 „ by chance in an adjacent wood, according to custom, after a full meal,
 „ or on holy-days, he cut some letters out of the bark of beech-trees;
 „ which being inverted and joyn'd together, he began to print some
 „ words, and then whole lines, in hopes that this might turn to the
 „ advantage of his grand-children: that the success of this prompted
 „ him to greater discoveries, he being a man of an extraordinary geni-
 „ us: that he with *Thomas Peter* his son-in-law, finding the common ink
 „ apt to spread, invented a more glutinous sort, and began to print
 „ whole pages; of which kind I saw some essays in an anonymous
 „ work, printed only on one side, and entitled the *Mirour of our Salvati-*
 „ *on*, written in *Low Dutch*, the white sides of the paper being glew'd
 „ together to hide the chasms: that after this he chang'd his wooden let-
 „ ters into lead; and then into tin, which was still harder and more du-
 „ rable: some of these old types being cast into drinking-cups are still
 „ to

„ to be seen at the aforefaid houfe, out of which *Gerard Thomas, Cofter's*
 „ great-grand-son, dy'd a few years ago. But as all new inventions
 „ meet with encouragement, this art began to require a greater number
 „ of hands, which prov'd the first caufe of mischief to this family: for
 „ one of his servants nam'd *John* (but whether *Fauft* or not I shall not
 „ now enquire) being employ'd in this bufinefs, after having taken an
 „ oath of fecrecy, had no fooner learn'd, as he thought, the method
 „ of cafting and joining the fufile types, &c. but he took the next op-
 „ portunity of robbing his mafter of all his printing-tools, together with
 „ his art: to which end he chofe the night before *Chriftmas*, as the
 „ moft proper for his defign, when the whole family, with the reft of
 „ the city were at church at midnight-mafs. Thence he escap'd to
 „ *Amfterdam*, next to *Cologne*, and at laft fettled at *Mentz*; where the
 „ year following, viz. ann. 1442 he printed *Alexandri Galli doctinale*, a
 „ grammar much in vogue at that time, with thofe very types that his
 „ mafter *Cofter* had us'd before.

„ THIS is the fubftance of what I had from thofe gentlemen of vera-
 „ city, who told me they had it handed down by tradition; and this
 „ has been likewise confirm'd to me by others of equal repute. I re-
 „ member to have heard my tutor *Nich. Gallius*, an old gentleman of a
 „ very tenacious memory, fay, that when he was a boy, he heard one
 „ *Cornelius* a printer, an old man, who had been one of *Cofter's* workmen,
 „ mention the ftory of the firft trials of printing, with a great deal
 „ of vehemence, and even with tears, efpecially when he came to the
 „ thievifh part of it; protefting he could execute the rogue himfelf with
 „ the utmoft pleasure, if he had been alive then; curfing thofe nights,
 „ in which, for near three months together, he had lain with fo vile a
 „ mifcreant. A ftory like this one *Quirinus Talefius* reports that he had
 „ heard from the fame Printer.

„ THIS is what my fincere love of truth oblig'd me to publish, what-
 „ ever the confequence be, — but I am fearful that prejudice in this
 „ cafe will out-balance reason and authority. The paffing of this in-
 „ vention into *Germany* in a lawful way had been no harm; nay, I be-
 „ lieve that it pleas'd God to make it the means of perfecting and di-
 „ vulging fo ufeul an art, &c. „

HERE is all that our author could collect in defence of his cause, which he has made the best of after his way: it were indeed to be wish'd, the Doctor had rather imitated the modesty of *Carneades*, than wish'd for his eloquence; since that great philosopher (however he seems to forget it) never was known to affirm any thing. Convinc'd as he was of the weakness of human understanding, and of the power of prejudice; he always contented himself with confuting the opinions of others, without ever shewing that he held any of his own: but such an excellent talent would have spoil'd his design, and condemn'd both his book and his old men's fables to obscurity and oblivion, and saved some other authors the trouble of writing in the vindication of either; but tho' he has been follow'd by about a dozen of his country-men, yet no additional testimonies are to be expected from any of them: for even *Boxborn*, who wrote with the greatest vehemence and spleen against *Malinkrot*, has been oblig'd to content himself with palliating the account of *Junius*, and endeavouring to shew, that it is not quite so improbable as his antagonist hath represented it. However it must be own'd, that except the two last nam'd authors, and one or two more, viz. *Berchius* and *Scrivnerius*, the first of whom has been confuted by *Nicholas Serrarius* a Jesuit in his book *de rebus Moguntinis*, lib. 1. Cap. 36, 37, 38, and 39; and the later by the learned *Monf. Naudé*, *George Draude* and others; I say except these, all the rest write more moderately, without invectives or ill language, and some of them even with doubt; whilst others modestly contend only for the invention of printing on wooden-planks, leaving that of metal types to *Faust*: but even this is inconsistent with the story of *Junius*, who asserts *Coster* to be the inventor of them both, and *Faust* the thief. It would be superfluous to multiply quotations out of the writers on the side of *Harlem*, since they follow *Junius* upon his bare testimony; and a confutation of him will easily dispatch all the rest. I shall therefore examine the probability of his account, and see how far it outweighs the testimonies and authorities alleg'd on the other side: in the execution of this, the best method will be to follow the steps of the learned *Malinkrot*, who has sufficiently expos'd the numerous absurdities, which this story is attended with. Setting aside therefore the oddness of *Coster's* fancy, in chusing to make his first letters of the bark of beech, which

which will bend whilst green, and break when dry; whilst the wood itself would have been much more proper to bear the weight of the press; and the improbability of his changing them into metal ones, which is barely asserted by *Junius*, and contradicted by *Berkius*, *Boxhorn*, and other *Dutch* writers, as we hinted before: nothing can be more ridiculous than the converting those types into drinking cups to perpetuate the memory of their discovery; they had certainly been more authentick in their former state; at least, if some notable work or inscription had been printed with them: or would it not have been a better method to celebrate the name of the inventor, to have distributed annually a portion of wine out of them, in order to inspire their poets with songs in his honour and *Faust's* shame; or to have hang'd them up, as trophies, in the town-hall or great church, &c. with respect to the stolen types, (which were turn'd to a better purpose by the thief, who the next year printed with them *Alexandri doctrinale*, and the works of *Petrus Hispanus*, if *Junius* may be credited, who was the first that said or thought of this;) well might *Serrarius* say after the Emperor *Julian*, *Who will be found innocent, if one accusation makes a man guilty?* One would naturally think that this story was devis'd in the woods and walks about *Harlem*; for several of the writers before mention'd, and particularly the *Colognian Chronicle* alleg'd by *Boxhorn*, agree that the *Latin* bible was the first book printed by *Faust* at *Mentz*. 'Tis surprizing that these gentlemen of *Harlem* should pretend to tell us what was done with their types in the very heart of *Germany*, and yet be entirely ignorant of what was done in their own city: besides at that time it is certain, as we have already shewn, that separate types of any sort of metal were unknown — But to proceed; this treacherous servant, it seems, went off at 12 a-clock at night, when the whole family was at church. — It is highly improbable, that a *Dutchman* should leave his shop so open and expos'd at that time of night, when it was fill'd with all the tools and apparatus of an invention so important, and known only to himself and his man: for it is downright absurdity to think, that he might depend on the oath, with which he had engaged the latter to secrecy. Such a night as that, wherein the inhabitants of the city were going to or coming from mass, was by no means proper for such a design; and supposing he might have pass'd undisturb'd with his stolen

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treasure,

treasure, yet he could not with the same facility pass thro' the gates, or leap over the walls, with at least a thousand weight of letters on his back: or if his booty was those wooden planks, with which the two large books mention'd before were printed, as some of the *Dutch* writers seem to hint against *Junius*, it was sufficient to load two or three carts: that he should go with them to *Amsterdam*, then to *Cologne*, and at last to *Mentz*, without being taken notice of, is no less astonishing. I shall not insist upon his rashness in chusing to go thro' such publick roads and noted cities, and thereby running the danger of being seized; the consequence of which would have been capital punishment: nor upon the unaccountable supineness of his master in not pursuing nor causing him to be apprehended, when he open'd shop at *Mentz*, where he could easily have reach'd him: nor yet upon the probability, that the publick must have been obliged, by this daring attempt of robbing the country of such a glorious discovery, to prosecute the robber with the utmost severity where ever he could be found.

IN the next place should we grant that *Faust*, or some other servants had stolen the types; does it necessarily follow that he carry'd away the art with them? Could neither *Coster*, nor his son-in-law and assistant *Tho. Peter*, nor any of his grand-children, recover a new press, cast new types, and publish something that might expose the thief, and shew to whom the world was indebted for this invention? Besides, it appears from *Junius* that some of the types were left behind, which were afterwards transformed into drinking-vessels: if these were not sufficient to set them to work again, the interval of ten years, viz. from the pretended robbery anno 1441, to the divulging of the art anno 1452, was more than enough to have compleated a new set; seeing the first inventors devis'd, try'd, and perfected this method in less time. But 'tis urg'd that *Coster* dy'd either of grief or otherwise before he had brought the art to any perfection; so that *Harlem* was anticipated by *Mentz*. This is affirmed by *Majolus* and *Quadi*, tho' without grounds; for *Junius* tells us, that he invented the separate metal types, as well as wooden-blocks; and met with such encouragement that people came far and near to purchase his books, tho' at very dear rates: now if he was alive, as he and *Berkius* relate, anno 1447, six years after this pretended flight; during that interval

terval he might have renew'd his works, there being no want of buyers, and inscrib'd his books after this or some such manner; *This work was done at Harlem by L. J. Coster, the inventor of this art of printing, &c. and not by that notorious pretender John Faustus, who stole my art and instruments, and is set up at Mentz, &c.* But nothing of this nature was ever done by *Coster* or his posterity; which is a plain indication that this whole story is, what *Salmuth* and other learned writers affirm it to be, a mere old wife's fable without foundation or even probability. How the devisers and publishers of it can maintain it with so much positiveness and vehemence, with such calumnies, invectives and ill language, against persons of incomparable learning, who could not give into such an absurd and legendary account, is not my business to enquire. I shall only observe, that their charge upon a man of such conspicuous merit as *John Faustus* recoils with double force and shame upon themselves; for it proves them guilty of a crime more flagrant than what they accuse him of, in endeavouring to deprive him not only of the glory of that invention, in order to fix it upon an imaginary country-man of theirs; but even of what is most valuable in the world, his reputation, upon the bare testimony and tradition of three old citizens, whose memory is as justly questionable, as their and *Junius's* impartiality, in a case wherein the honour of their city and fellow-citizens is concern'd; and what is still a greater aggravation of their unjust calumny, to make use of *Faustus's* noble discovery to publish and perpetuate his shame, whose honour and memory ought rather to have been celebrated by it: little did that good man think, that his art would ever be put to so vile a use against himself.

IN the mean time, I must not omit to remark, that of all the writers, whom we have quoted for *Mentz*, and of many more collected by the diligent *Malinkrot* in his *History of Printing*, there is not one native of that city. *Munster* indeed was born near it, but educated at a greater distance; and *Serrarius*, tho' he liv'd sometime there, was born in *Lorain*; yet if such an objection had been just against ten or twelve of 'em, there remains enough to fix the laurel on *Faustus's* head. But with respect to the old evidences of *Harlem*, we only know what *Junius* is pleas'd to tell us of them, that they were persons who serv'd several considerable offices in the city. However *Malinkrot* makes a very shrewd remark upon one of

them, viz. *Cornelius* the Printer, who in a fally of passion wish'd *Faust* had been then alive, that he might have executed him with his own hands; and was at that time, as *Junius* relates, above eighty years old: now as this theft is pretended to have been committed anno 1441, and it appears from an edition of *Tully's offices* that *Faust* was living anno 1466; it is plain that in this space of 25 years *Cornelius* might have had an opportunity of gratifying his revenge upon him if he had thought fit. This circumstance therefore, which was contriv'd to add weight to the story, serves only to burlesque and overthrow it.

I fear the reader is more weary of this argument than I could wish; since there are two or three new allegations out of those who followed *Junius*, which tho' of small weight, I would willingly examine before I dismiss this chapter; tho' it were only to shew what shifts they are driven to, who undertake to support the credit of *Junius's* legend; and to let the world judge whether such arguments are not more likely to overthrow than maintain this cause. I shall here propose 'em with the utmost brevity.

BOXHORN, in his *Theatrum Hollandiæ*, triumphs upon the evidence of two eminent writers, whom he has violently wrested to speak in defence of his claim. One is the author of the *Cologne Chronicle*; the other *Marian-gelus Accursius*, a learned man, who flourish'd in *Italy* about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The former writes to this purpose¹, that „ altho' the Art of Printing had been found out at *Mentz*, in the man- „ ner we now have it, yet the first hints or pattern was taken from the „ *Donatus* of *Holland*, which had been printed there; that the aforesaid „ art took its origin from them, tho' the latter invention is much su- „ perior in contrivance and ingenuity. „ 'Tis to be observ'd by the bye, that this author wrote in the year 1499, almost 50 years after the discove- ry, and had these particulars from *Ulric Zel* an old bookseller then living at *Cologn*. The next testimony is a passage written by *Accursius* upon the

¹ *Chronic. Colonienf.* Quamvis autem, ut præmittitur, *Moguntia* ars hæc inventa fuerit, eo modo quo nunc temporis communiter usurpatur; prima tamen ejus præfiguratio, seu simulacrum ex *Donatis Hollandiæ* reperta & desumpta fuit, qui ibi ante id tempus excusi fuerunt; e quo illis principium artis depromptum est: at

posterior hæc inventio priore, quoad artificium & subtilitatem, longe præstantior fuit.

N.B. The author wrote this *chronicle* in *High Dutch*, but I could never procure the original, and have been oblig'd to make use of *Malinckroet's* translation of it,

first leaf of a *Donatus* printed at *Mentz* by *John Faustus*, as follows¹.
 „ *John Faustus* citizen of *Mentz*, grand-father by mother's side of *John*
 „ *Shepherd*, was the first that devis'd this Art of Printing with brass types,
 „ which he afterwards chang'd for leaden ones: his son *Peter Schoeffer*
 „ added many other improvements to the art: this *Donatus* and the
 „ *Confessionalia* were first printed in the year 1450. He certainly took
 „ the hint from the *Donatus* printed before in *Holland* upon wooden
 „ planks. „ What this *Donatus* and other books of that sort were, and
 whether really done in wood or otherwise, with some other particu-
 larities relating to them, shall be consider'd in a distinct chapter: our pre-
 sent enquiry is how far they make for the cause of the *Dutch* writers.

We will suppose that *Ulric Zel* was a man of as good a memory as those
 mention'd by *Junius*; and that the second passage quoted was actually
 written by *Accursius*, which is far from being certain: let us now exa-
 mine what both these writers do, and what they do not, affirm. They
 affirm, 1. that this method of printing by fusile types was found out at
Mentz by *John Faustus*, and improv'd by his son-in-law *Peter Schoeffer*: 2.
 that they printed some books in the year 1450: 3. that there was a *Do-*
natius printed before that time upon wooden planks in *Holland*: and 4.
 that from the hint, or, as the chronicler terms it, the model or pattern
 [*Vorbildung*] of those wooden planks, *Faustus* began the new way of
 printing by fusile types; tho' this last article seems only a conjecture of
 theirs.

THEY do not affirm, 1. that the old method of printing on wood
 was the foundation of the new one: 2. that this *Donatus* was printed at
Harlem rather than at any other place, or by *Coster* than any other per-
 son: tho' if they had asserted this, it ought to be examin'd how they got
 that intelligence; seeing it was not known in *Holland* ann. 1575. in which
 year *Junius* dy'd, that any such book had been printed there; for that
 author, who was indefatigable in collecting whatever favour'd his cause,
 would never have fail'd to mention it; and *Jos. Scaliger*, tho' he since de-

¹ *Joannes Faustus* civis *Moguntinus*, avus ma-
 ternus *Joannis Schoeffer*. primus excogitavit im-
 primendi artem typis æreis, quos deinde plum-
 beos invenit; multaque ad poliendam artem ad-
 didit ejus filius *Schoeffer*: impressus est autem

hic *Donatus* & *Confessionalia* primo omnium an-
 no 1450, admonitus certe fuit ex *Donato Hollan-*
diæ prius impresso in tabula incisa. *Theatr.*
Holland. p. 138.

clar'd himself for *Harlem*, formerly attributed this rude invention to the city of *Dort*: 3. they don't affirm that this *Donatus* was printed before the *Catholicon* of *Mentz*, wherein lies the main point; for tho' they say it was done before *Faust* had perfected his invention, yet it does not follow that it was before he had begun to print with wooden planks. Nothing therefore can be gather'd from these authors, even with respect to this invention in wood, that favours *Coster* or *Harlem* more than *Faust* or *Mentz*.

I have already observ'd that some of the *Dutch* writers are for dividing the glory between those two corrivals, and particularly *Peter Berchius*: in this he is follow'd by no less an author than *Boxborn*, so often mention'd for his zeal in this dispute. He finding the impossibility of defending all the assertions of *Junius*, is willing to come to a composition. His words are these: '„ It will be no difficulty to reconcile this „ great and weighty controversy, which has exercis'd the greatest wits of „ the age, if we will, as indeed we ought, yield the honour of the old „ wooden invention to *Coster* of *Harlem*, and that of metal types to *John „ Faust* citizen of *Mentz*. „ But this accommodation is attended with this disadvantage, that it will set the *Dutch* writers at variance not only with one another, but also with themselves; whereas 'tis much better in my opinion, to continue in war with the whole world, than to bring a domestick one into their own bowels. A consequence still worse is inevitable; for what will become of the pompous story of *Faust's* robbery? And of those creditable evidences mention'd by *Junius*? Would not they with the utmost vehemence protest against such a partition treaty? And old *Cornelius* the false accuser, deserve the most sanguinary treatment to be retaliated on him from some angry *Moguntine*? Will not the drinking cups, those noble relicks of *Coster's* metal types, run the risque of being turn'd into vessels of dishonour? And all the inscriptions in his praise, his statues, and even his house at *Harlem*, be liable to some such dismal fate. — If we should yield them this invention of wooden planks, so

* Sed non difficile est hanc tam gravem ac tam nobilem controversiam, & quæ clarissima nostri ævi ingenia exercuit, componere, nempe, si vel id, quod res est, concedamus, typos quidem ligneos a *Laurentio Harlemensi* primum

fuisse inventos, typos vero stanneos, æreos, & plumbeos ad horum exemplar efformatos esse a *Joanne Fausto* civis *Moguntino*. *Boxhorn Th. At. Holland.*

eagerly contended for; or agree with the more moderate of their writers that *Faust* and *Coster*, tho' at so great a distance, happen'd upon it together; or grant to *Boxborn*, that *Harlem* was the mother, and *Mentz* the nurse of these two discoveries; and that the one is but an improvement of the other: yet *Coster* would not have deserv'd half of the incense bestow'd on him; nor *Faust* the least part of the calumnies which he has suffer'd. In vain were such shifts and forgeries used to deprive him of so small and inconsiderable share of his glory; whilst the far greatest part of it, which could not be touch'd, was more than sufficient to make him outshine and even eclipse his rival, for whose sake he was so ungratefully treated. Had not he been blest'd with a genius vastly superior to that of his suppos'd competitor, or contented himself without aiming at a more useful and expeditious method than the first; the common wealth of letters had receiv'd as little advantage from his discovery, as his own name and memory from those *Dutch* writers, were they the only persons to transmit them to posterity. However if their partiality, and adherence to *Junius*, have influenc'd them so far as to make such returns for those improvements, which they are oblig'd to acknowledge that he made; common justice will oblige me to acquaint the reader, that other writers of that country, of equal learning, and a more generous nature, have been so far from joyning with them, that they have ascrib'd the invention to *Faust* alone. I have before quoted an encomium of the great *Erasmus* upon him and his art, and shall close this chapter with another out of the learned *Opmer* of *Amsterdam*, who dy'd about the year 1595, *i. e.* 20 years after *Junius*, and has left us the following testimony in his posthumous book of *Chronography*:^r — „ This year 1440 the art of printing began

^r Etenim hoc anno Moguntia a Joanne Fausto ars imprimendi exerceri coepta est, fuerat is avus Joannis Schoefferi chalcographi nostræ ætatis, vir dignus ut celebretur. —

Quid? quod sub mundi vesperam, instante supremo jam die, inter caliginosas impiorum atque discordiarum feralium procellas raræ pietatis, summæque doctrinæ non pauci instar micantium syderum emicasse cernuntur; ut crederes orbem a graviore morbo convalescere, atque amissas eloquentiæ artiumque vires sensim recollectisse; opitulante disciplinis arte illa, qua plumbeis literarum characteribus ingeniose fufis, atque scribendi ratione optime compositis,

atramentoque madefactis convenienter ac prælo compressis, diversarum linguarum libri numerofo quasi partu in quamplurima exemplaria in lucem producuntur: *Typographia* arti nomen dedere, ac per Joannem Faustum anno 1440 excogitatam in lucem produxisse certissime constat. Mirum tanti artificii repertorem, & divinarum humanarumque disciplinarum generosum administrum a *Germanicarum* rerum scriptore indigno plane ornari elogio: fuit certe vir ille immortalis memoriæ dignissimus, & acutissimis ingeniis annumerandus. *Opmer. op. posth.* p. 703. edit. Colon.

„ began to be exercis'd at *Mentz* by *John Faust*, who was the grandfa-
 „ ther of *John Schoeffer* (a printer of this age,) and worthy the highest
 „ encomiums. „ In another place (in the beginning of the 4th book) there
 is the following elegant panegyrick upon the art and inventor: — „ that
 „ at the decline of the world, when the last day seem'd to approach, so
 „ many men of accomplish'd learning and singular piety should break
 „ forth, like bright stars, with unusual lustre thro' the tempestuous clouds
 „ of deadly discord; so that you would have thought the world had been
 „ recover'd from a long disease, and gradually reassumed its lost strength,
 „ the arts and sciences: this was effected by the assistance of that art,
 „ which from metal characters of letters ingeniously cast, dispos'd in the
 „ order in which we write, spread over with a convenient quantity of
 „ ink, and put under the press, has usher'd into the world, books in all
 „ languages, and multiplied their copies like a numerous off-spring,
 „ and has obtain'd the name of *Typography*. This *art of Printing* was
 „ most certainly invented and brought to light by *John Faust* in the year
 „ 1440. It is amazing that the author of so important a discovery, and
 „ so generous a promoter of divine and human learning, should be un-
 „ worthily traduc'd by a writer of the *German* affairs: surely such a per-
 „ son deserves eternal remembrance, and a place amongst men of the
 „ brightest genius. „ — Who this *German* writer was our author no
 where tells us; but it seems as if his unnatural usage of his own country-
 man had taken off *Opmer's* wonder at the like treatment from the *Dutch*
 writers. If it should be asked what converts these last have made among
 other nations, I can only answer, that I know of none.

THE generality of writers have esteem'd *Junius's* story unworthy of
 either credit or confutation; and if any of the moderns seem neuter or
 doubtful in this case, it is more owing to a peculiar affectation of mo-
 desty, than either to any design of complimenting the *Dutch*, or fear of
 being mistaken in so evident a matter.

C H A P. VI.

An Enquiry into the first Books printed on Blocks of Wood, viz. the Donatus, Speculum, &c.

AS the reader may reasonably think, there is something excellent in these Books, either for beauty of impression, learning, correctness, &c. from the great noise which they have made among the writers of this controversy; I must begin with acquainting him that their whole merit consists only in their being look'd upon by them as the very first essays of the art of printing, even before the invention of fusile types. This is so far from admitting of any controversy, however some of them may have been misled into a contrary opinion, that their being printed only on one side of the paper, and afterwards glew'd together, on the blank side, from which they were call'd *paginae conglutinatae*, is a very pregnant proof of their being done after the first method, viz. upon wooden blocks; tho' we shall not only corroborate the fact by many other undeniable arguments in the sequel of this chapter, but even lead the reader into so plain a method of judging of those works, from those printed by fusile types, that he will not have the least room left to doubt of it.

As for the *Donatus*, so strenuously insisted upon, by *Bertius* and others, in favour of *Harlem*, it is a question whether there be one copy of it extant, seeing 'tis not to be met with in any of those curious libraries I have either seen or heard of, nor could ever be procured by any of our searchers into these antient monuments, tho' they have spar'd neither pains nor cost to have it sought for far and near: to which let me add, that no author I am acquainted with, has pretended to have seen it, if we except *Angel Rocha*, who in his *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, printed at Rome in the year 1591, 4to. pag. 411, tells us, that *Aldus Manutius, junr.* shew'd him a grammar of *Donatus* printed on vellum, upon one of the first white leaves of which *Mariangelus Accursius*, a learned author living in Italy about the year 1500 had wrote, as he suppos'd, with his own hand, the following words in latin, „ that this *Donatus*, and another book entitled *Confessio-*

nalia were the first printed books, and that *John Faust* citizen of *Mentz*, and first inventor of the Art of Printing, had printed them *ann.* 1450, as has been said in the last chapter.

FROM this account of *Accursius* it is plain: *first*, that this *Donatus* bore neither date nor name of place or printer, otherwise he need not to have been at the trouble of guessing at them. *Secondly*, That *Donatus* is the name of the author, not of the book; and that it was only a grammar for boys, for so *Rocha* calls it in the place before quoted; to which we may add, that in the last list which the first Printers at *Rome* gave of their works to the Pope, they call it *Donatus pro pueris*; so that it could not be such a trifling thing as some authors have thought it, who only call it a Primer. The *third* thing I would observe from this passage is, that *John Faust*, who is here call'd the first inventor of printing, is affirm'd to have printed it at *Mentz*: but what has puzzled the world is, what the same author adds at the end of the passage, *viz. that Faust did certainly take the hint from the Donatus in Holland, first printed on Blocks of wood*; which for that very reason, those authors who have follow'd him, have thought fit to make 10 years older, and have suppos'd them printed about the year 1440. I might indeed have omitted this passage, seeing *Accursius* seems to hint that this book of his was printed by fusile types; but as it was the only one that has been seen by any author, and confirms some of our former assertions, I thought it would not be amiss to insert it, especially considering that it was not impossible for *Accursius* to be mistaken in his judgment, of its being printed after the new method of separate types, as many other learned men have been in the like case. The merit of this quotation has been examin'd in the last chapter, and it is plain that all the authors that have mention'd the date of this book, such as *Beughen*, *Boxborn*, *Bertius*, and others have taken it upon trust, as well as what they affirm of its being done upon wooden blocks, since none of them pretend either to have seen it, or to have taken it from any author that had: and if we should admit what *Accursius* affirms, that those suppos'd *dutch ones* were older than this he wrote upon, it will make it still plainer that they had neither date, printer, nor place's name; since this, which is suppos'd ten years younger, is without any of them. The same may be said of the other books I am now going to give an account of, *viz. the Speculum,*

Speculum, Ars moriendi, &c. which are in the Earl of *Pembroke's* curious collection, none of which, tho' they seem to be improvements of one another, has the least mention of time, place, or printer.

However, as to their being engraven upon wooden blocks, and consequently being the first essays, or as some antiquaries call them, the first *Maculatures* of the art, I am fully convinc'd, both by the ink with which they are printed, *viz.* the common writing ink, and by some undoubted trials I have made of them. I shall therefore lay down the following rules to distinguish between books printed on blocks of wood and separate metal types.

First, Let an *m*, *w*, or any other remarkable letter, be curiously examin'd both as to its length, breadth and shape, and compare it with the same letter in another word, if they vary either in similitude or size, you may be assur'd they are not metal types, since the most curious letter-cutter, writing-master, or engraver, cannot make any two letters so alike, but a nice observer will distinguish one from the other; on the contrary, in separate metal types each letter being cast in the same matrice, it is impossible there should be the least difference either in shape or size.

Secondly, Another way is by choosing any word, the longer the better, take the length of it with the points of the compass, and compare it with the same word in another place, and if you find them both of the same length, you may depend upon their being printed with separate metal types; for as each letter is cast in the same mould, it is impossible that their length should vary: but in writing and engraving there will be a visible difference in the same word in various places.

Thirdly, Measure the length of a page; tell the number of lines in a full one, and take the white spaces between each line, and by comparing them to any other full page in the book, if they are printed with metal types there can be no variation in any of these respects: whereas, if they were done in wood it would be as impossible for them to agree in any one instance, as it would be to engrave or write any two pages wherein there should be no visible variation in some one or more of the foremention'd particulars. It was by these methods that I distinguish'd, in the *five* books in the Earl of *Pembroke's Library*, what was done on wood, and what by separate metal types.

MELCHIOR ADAMUS, and after him the learned *Malinkrot* and some others, tell us of separate wooden types cut with a knife, which were us'd by the first Printers, before the discovery of casting them into metal; but besides that this seems inconsistent with the most authentick testimonies we have quoted hitherto concerning this invention: whoever considers the vast time and trouble it would require to cut such a quantity of them as is necessary to print any moderate work, the great difficulty of making them stand exactly upright and even in line and body, how liable they would be to split, break, warp, shrink and swell with continual wetting and the weight of the press, with many more such like inconveniences and difficulties, will easily judge, not only of the absurdity of this notion, but also of the impossibility of any of those old books being printed by any such types; since it is obvious to every eye, that no one single work could have come perfect out of their hands for the reasons above-mention'd.

BEFORE I dismiss this point, I must not omit acquainting the Reader with a mistake into which *Chevillier* has been unwarily drawn, even when he took the surest method of coming at the truth, concerning one of these books in question, viz. the *Speculum Salutis*, he tells us, pag. 281 and 282 of his *Origin of Printing*, that having one of them in his own possession, and having met with another in the library of the *Celestin* Monks at *Paris*, he had the curiosity to have them examined by a Printer, a Founder, and an Engraver, who judg'd them to be printed with separate-metal-types; so that those who have read his book, have thought it a sufficient ground to alter their opinion of their being done on wooden blocks. But this mistake of *Chevillier's* proceeded from his not examining the whole book, because as I shall shew anon, there were many leaves supply'd afterwards by separate metal types, one of which he had the misfortune to light upon, otherwise they must have manifestly seen the difference.

I come now to give the reader an account of the other five books, viz. *Ars Moriendi*, the *History of the Apocalypse*, the *History of the Bible*, the *Speculum Salutis*, and the *Spiegel* or *Speculum* translated into *Low Dutch*. That these however are not all that was done upon wooden planks, is plain, because *Trithemius* tells us of the *Catholicon*, first printed upon wood,

Scaliger

Scaliger speaks of a *Psalter* of the same stamp, which his grand-mother had, and other antiquaries mention several others not worth inserting here, all which are either perish'd, or are as yet undiscover'd: however I cannot omit the *Speculum*, and some others seen by *Saubert* in the *Nuremberg* library, of which he was keeper; and mention'd by him in the catalogue of that library, call'd in latin *Bibliotheca Norica*, which books were printed in *High Dutch*, and may justly be suppos'd some of *Faustus's* first *Tentamina* or essays from ann. 1440 to 1450: but as that author has only given us the names, without any further account of them; I shall pass them by, and return to the *five* abovementioned; which are no where to be met with together, but in that noble Collection of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke*: and as no one besides my self has describ'd them all, I hope the reader will not be displeas'd, if I give him a more particular account of them, than any but a Printer could possibly have done: They are all *five* printed on a very small *Folio*.

I. *ARS MORIENDI*; or, *SPECULUM MORIENTIUM*.

It is a moral treatise upon the subject of dying well, with wooden cuts suited to the taste of the Romish church; a sick man is figur'd lying in his bed with angels and devils attending him, the one to tempt, the other to strengthen him; to which end the designer has made labels from their mouths, to express the intention of each: the designs of this first book are somewhat better drawn than those of the rest; for in that age, as well as ours, there were good and bad painters or designers, but the press-work is the worst of the *five*: this induces me to think this piece to be the oldest, and its wanting the several improvements which we find in the others, does not a little confirm me in my conjecture: for *first*, it is printed with common writing ink without any gum, which is plain from its spreading it self, and soaking into the paper, so that in many places it is scarce legible; and the ink is grown withall so pale by length of time, that it doth but just show it self at the best: *secondly*, it seems to have received several degrees of improvement as the work went on, and is better printed, and with better ink, the nearer it draws to the end: the *third* circumstance that proves its priority to the rest, is, that it hath
neither

neither the capitals A, B, C, &c. (which are now call'd Signatures) at the bottom of the first pages of each sheet, nor any direction word at the end of each page; which is a guide to the book-binder how to place the sheets, this improvement we find in the two next books.

II. *The HISTORY of the APOCALYPSE.*

THIS book, which I venture to give the second rank to, hath the advantage of being printed with better ink than the former, which makes it much more legible; it appears to have some gum dissolv'd with the ink, which was one of the first improvements that was made to the common sort of ink; it has likewise the signatures at the top of each page of the sheet: This piece contains the history of St. *John the Evangelist* in forty six pages, each having some figures ill cut, representing some part of that saint's life; the cuts are interspers'd with short sentences, arguments and explications, in Monkish latin prose; likewise cut in wood after an indifferent manner; the paper has the mark of the *beifer's head and horns*, which is allowed to be the mark in the paper *Faust* used.

III. *The HISTORY of the BIBLE.*

THIS contains only histories out of the Old and New Testament, promiscuously blended together, with wooden cutts better perform'd, tho' worse drawn, than any of the two foregoing; it has likewise the arguments and explanations of each cut, and the paper seems to be the same with that of the *Apocalypse*; it has also the improvements of ink and signatures¹.

IV. *The SPECULUM HUMANÆ SALVATIONIS.*

IT is commonly called *Speculum Salutis*; or, the *Mirroure of our Salvation*; and is a comparative history of the old and new testament it is writ-

¹ These were in all probability the first SIGNATURES, the 4th and 5th here have them not, nor the books with *Faust's* name. And tho' the Terence printed at *Milan* 1470 has

them, yet *Spira* and *Jenson* printed afterwards without; nor have they us'd them in *France* in 1468, yet in the same year they were us'd at *Oxford*.

ten in Monkish latin verse rhim'd. This is by far the most perfect of the two I have seen, *that* which Dr. Mead shew'd me wanted many leaves, but *this* only two: it consists of fifty six pages, and each page has two columns of verses, which are so well cut, that were it not for some differences in the magnitude and shape of the same letters, one might easily be induc'd to think them printed with metal types; and I believe this is the reason, that made some authors suppose them to be done with separate wooden types. I have already taken notice of the improbability of that notion.

V. De SPIEGHEL.

THIS is only a translation of the *Speculum Salutis* into *Flemish*: it was upon this book that Dr. Junius and the other *dutch* writers, who have followed him, lay so great a stress; and upon whose antiquity, preferable to all others, they ground their claim to the invention of printing in favour of *Coster*. However it is very plain that the *Latin* one is prior to this, and that *this* is only a translation of *that*, because the wooden cuts are the same in both, the latin explanations at the bottom are left untranslated, and the cuts are printed with the same pale gum'd writing ink as in the *Latin* one, rather brown than black; whereas the body of this work is compos'd with separate metal types, and printed with an ink as remarkable for its blackness as any sort since made use of: it has also in several places the same mark in the paper, *viz.* the *beiffer's* head and horns, acknowledged by Mons. Naudé to be the mark in *Faust's* paper. In the *Latin Speculum* a great many pages are supply'd with the same separate metal types, press-work and ink as the body of this whole *Flemish* one; and has all the appearances sufficient to convince any one, of its being done at the same time, and by the same hand; one of which *supply'd* pages of the latin *Speculum*, Chevillier happen'd to pitch upon, when he shew'd it to the Printer, Founder and Engraver before mention'd. There is one circumstance worth noting, which is, that the *Speculum salutis*, tho' cut on wood, each page consists of two distinct pieces, the head piece is the draught or representation of the history, the lower piece is the history itself in two columns, and if I may venture to account for this motled work

work, it must be by supposing, that after they had cut the design, they might print several proof sheets, as is usual now, to see if it needed any amendment; which proof sheets of the draughts only, together with a compleat book of the latin *Speculum*, might afterwards fall into the hands of some *dutch Printer*, who got it translated into *low dutch* and printed it with separate metal types upon the same proof sheets under the designs which were before printed at the head of the page; and this will evidently appear from the manifest difference of the ink, as before mention'd.

THERE remain still two points to be examin'd with relation to the *Donatus*; 1. whether it be the first book printed with wooden planks; 2. whether it was done by *L. Coster* at *Harlem*. To the first there is only the testimonies of *Ulric Zel* citizen of *Cologne*, who relates what was done almost fifty years ago, and of *Mar. Accursius*, who wrote in *Italy* what he heard was done at, a still, greater distance from him. To these, who could not possibly be acquainted with every circumstance of this discovery, we may reasonably oppose the authority of *Trithemius*; for he learn'd what he tells us, not from report and uncertain tradition, but from the mouth of *Peter Schoeffer*, who related nothing but what he was an eye-witness of, or rather particularly interested in. Now *Trithemius* ascribes the invention of wooden blocks to *J. Faust*; and asserts that the *Catholicon* was the first book (of any consequence) printed in that manner; and that his next step was the more ingenious invention of separate metal types.

LET the world judge whether his testimony be not far preferable to that of the two former. *Scriverius* indeed, and after him *Mr. Beughen*, affirm the *Donatus* to have been printed *anno 1440*; but give no reason for their fixing on that year rather than any other; and it is manifest from what they say before, that they only proceed upon a supposition, that this method being discovered about that time; this book (which is perhaps the least considerable of those which were printed then) might be one of the first essays of it. However let the *Catholicon*, the *Donatus* or any other, be the first book printed in *Europe* with wooden planks, yet there is no ground of boasting it to be the first in the world; since the *Chinese* practis'd that way of Printing at least 300 years before either *Faust* or *Coster* were born.

THE next consideration is, where and by whom it was printed. The *Dutch* attempt two ways of proving it was done by *Coster* at *Harlem*: the first is that of *Junius*, who pretends that it was one of the first tryals of *Coster's* metal types; but this has been so fully confuted, that they have been oblig'd to recur to another shift; which is, that *Coster* invented the engraven planks, and with these printed the *Donatus* and *Speculum Salutis*; and that from this *Faust* took the hint of inventing metal types, an improvement of the former method¹: As the latter part of this assertion has receiv'd a sufficient answer in the second chapter and elsewhere, so I need not insist long upon a confutation of the former part, *i. e.* the books themselves; since they carry no evident characteristick, nor are affirm'd with certainty by any author to have been done in *Holland*. No doubt the *Latin Speculum* is the original, and the *Dutch* only a translation; since as I observ'd before, the latin arguments under the figures are left untranslated. The learned *Saubert* likewise tells us in his *History of the Norimbergh library*, that he hath seen several books there printed in *high dutch* after this manner, one of which is the *Speculum*². Who can therefore determine which is the most antient, or where they were printed? If the *Dutch* one could be done no where but in *Holland*, because it is in *low dutch*; by parity of reason the *high dutch* must have been printed in *Germany*; and as to the *Latin*, it will remain still undetermin'd, whether it was done in the one or the other, and nothing will be certain concerning it, except that it must have been printed before the translations. From the whole of what has been said, it is apparent, that all the proofs which the *Dutch* bring either from facts or authentick writers, confute, rather than support, their pretensions: and I hope by this time the reputation of *Faust* is sufficiently clear'd from the two fold wrong done it by those, who endeavour to deprive him of his due honour, and asperse him with the vilest accusations of treachery and theft: and that the rea-

¹ Alibi enim ars, alibi ornamenta artis inventa; illa inter *Hollandos*, hæc inter *Germania Moguntinos*. — *Harlemum* Typographia velut matrem, *Moguntiam* autem nutricem fuisse & alumnam; ibi superatum quicquid in novæ rei exordiis impeditum, hic additam majorem arti speciem & facilitatem. *Boxhorn de Art. Typogr. invent.* p. 38, 39.

² Quæ ligno incisa sunt, huc non refero, v. g. libellum fabularum & similitudinum, qualis est *D. Hartliebi* libellus *Germanicus*, itemque *Speculum Morientium*, *Speculum Salutis*, & id genus alia, *Saubert. Hist. Biblioth. Norimberg.* p. 116.

der not only esteems him acquitted of both, but is satisfy'd that neither *Coster* nor *Harlem* have the least share in this discovery.

BEFORE I conclude this chapter, I cannot omit a conjecture of the ingenious Mr. *Mattaire*, which will be a considerable confirmation of what has been said before. He tells us¹, that he is inclin'd to think the books beforemention'd were printed at *Harlem*, rather than at *Mentz* or *Straßburgh*, because tho' *Guttenbergh* remov'd at first to the latter, soon after the sentence pronounc'd against him by the judges of *Mentz*; yet it appears from several authors even of our own nation, that he either suspecting his safety there, and a farther prosecution from *Faust* for the money adjudg'd to him by the decree and deed mention'd in a former chapter, or upon some other reason, came afterwards to *Harlem*: in this city he is suppos'd by our author to have taught the art to *Coster*, and practis'd it with him about the year 1459. If this be admitted, which has all the air of probability to recommend it, *Coster* will be left entirely destitute of his former glory. The reader will find Mr. *Mattaire's* proofs for what he advanceth concerning *Guttenbergh's* printing at *Harlem*, in his book before quoted²; which I refer to, rather than to those old and scarce authors, from whom he has extracted them. I shall close this controversy of *Harlem* with the words of *Malinkrot*:³, 'Tis not the spacious

¹ De loco & opifice incertiora adhuc sunt omnia. Si pro *Moguntia* pronuncietur, non multum hærendum erit de opificibus, tribus scilicet antea celebratis; aut tempore, quod anno 1457, (quo primum, juxta receptam hætenus a plerisque opinionem, integræ Typographiæ opus per *Johannem Fust* & *Petrum Schoeffer* elaboratum prodit) fuerit forte vetustius; opus enim minus perfectum oportet perfectiori prævisse, sin autem cui *Argentina* plus placeat, aut (quam cur duarum malim, postea aperiā) *Harlemum*; *Guttenbergius*, quem quidam *Argentina* migrasse, potior vero (de qua deinceps disseram, autoritas *Harlemi* confedisse affirmat, hæc primæ suæ artis molitus est rudimenta; non qui em ante annum 1455, quo accidisse fertur inter ipsum *Faustum*que dissidium (quæ ipsi fuit migrandi causa) neque forsan multo post 1457 quo perfectior innotuerat imprimendi ratio. *Anal. Typograph.* p. 17.

² Ibid a pag 26, ad 30.

Quæ ex *Lambethano* MS. descripsit, de eorum veritati cur dubitemus non video: ex iis itaque pauca mecum colliget lector alibi forsan non ediscenda.

1. *Johannes Guttenbergus*, quem, exorta inter ipsum & *Faustum* contentione, *Argentina* migrasse scribit *Henricus Salmuth*, *Harlemum* inde aliquando profectus est, ibique primus artem Typographicam a se inventam monstravit, & ipse anno 1459 exercuit: quod si admittatur, contra *Laurentium Costerum*, cui inventionis palma a *Belgis* tribuitur, manifeste faciet, &c. ib. p. 31.

³ Non hercle *Harlemica* silvæ spatii, non *Batavici* deambulationibus, non *Hollandico* otio tam laboriosæ artis anxium & difficilem partum debemus; sed *Moguntinis* potius sudoribus *Rhenana* industriæ & difficilibus nixibus, *Germanica* assiduitatis indefessæ operationi, continuæ multorum annorum instantiæ illum acceptum ferre tenemur. *Typograph. cap.* 8. pag. 69.

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„ woods of *Harlem*, nor the fine walks of *Holland*, nor the supineness of
„ its inhabitants that could produce an art so difficult and laborious ; but
„ 'tis to the strenuous endeavours of the city of *Mentz*, and the assidu-
„ ous and indefatigable industry of the *Rhenish* nation for many years
„ together, that we are indebted for it. „

C H A P. VII.

The Pretensions of Strasburgh confuted.

I N the two former chapters, the falsity of the charge against *John Faust* has been so fully demonstrated, that one would have reasonably expected the ill success of this accusation, and the many learned advocates that appear'd in his defence, might have been sufficient to deter the most sanguine of mortals from a second attempt upon so great a man. Nevertheless the reader must have patience to hear him arraigned at another bar for the like crimes, committed about the same time, tho' upon another person, and at another place distant several hundred miles from the former.

FOUR years after the publication of *Boxborn's Dissertatio de Typographiæ inventione & inventoribus*, printed at *Leyden* 1640; there started up another, who in a small treatise intitled, *Brevis de loco, tempore & authore Typographiæ excursus*, pretended to prove that *Faust* stole the art of Printing from *John Mentel* at *Strasburgh*. 'Tis true, this author was ashamed to set his name to it; but neither that, nor the meanness of his performance hinder'd the diligent *Malinkrot*, who was then writing his treatise *de ortu & progressu artis Typographicæ* against *Junius* and his followers, from confuting it. Hereupon *James Mentel* doctor of physick at *Paris*, a man of learning, and great grand-son of *Mentel*, the first *Strasburgh* Printer of that name, publish'd a book call'd *Parænesis de vera Typographiæ origine* at *Paris* anno 1650; wherein he undertook to make good the charge, which the anonymous author had laid against *Faust*, and challeng'd the glory of the invention in favour of his ancestor. Tho' no particular answer to this book has been publish'd, yet there is not one writer

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upon this subject, that I know of, that has not taken occasion to confute, or at least to say something to discountenance it. I should therefore esteem my self, wanting to this art and its inventor, should I omit giving a short account of this controversy, and expose the vanity of such an attempt; especially because it may be thought, that Dr. *Mentel* would not have troubled the world with it so soon after the other, unless he had had something more weighty to alledge in favour of *Strasburgh*, than the *Dutch* had for *Harlem*.

I hope to propose the arguments on both sides so fairly, that the reader will easily judge of the pretensions and merit of this new competitor; and with such brevity, that he will not be tired with it, by referring still to the quotations in the margin without interruption to the story.

THE first evidence alledg'd by Dr. *Mentel*, is an old *Strasburgh* chronicle, of equal authority with the *Harlem* tradition, to this purpose: „ that anno 1440 *Nich. Schantlitt* being consul, &c. the excellent and truly useful art of Printing was invented at *Strasburgh* by the incomparable *John Mentel*, who dwelt in the *Fronhoff* market, and at the house commonly called *Viergarten* (brothel-house;) which divine invention he communicated to a servant of his of great ingenuity and dexterity, by name *John Gensfleisch*, a native of *Mentz*, that he might be assisting to him in the business. But this treacherous fellow had no sooner learn'd the mystery, but he serv'd his master a base trick, by associating himself with his counrryman *J. Guttenberg*, a wealthy silver-smith, who began to smell out something of the art (having been employed by *Mentel* to make some necessary tools;) and discovering to him the se-

¹ Anno millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo als zum Dritttenmahl, &c. *qua Latine* sic sonant: cum e tribu Vietorum tertius in consulem esset electus Dominus *Nicholaus Schantlitt*, & prætura urbana fungeretur *Walterus Spiegel*, &c. eximia illa & mire utilis *Typographia Strasburgi* inventa est, ab incomparabili viro *Johanne Mentelio* habitante in foro *Fronhoff*, in ædibus vero *Viergarten*, hoc est lustris, vulgo nuncupatis: quod divinissimum opus non celavit unum ex famulis suis, sibi dexteritate ingenii atque acumine notum, *Johannem Gensfleisch* vocatum, & illum *Moguntinensem*, ut absillo in ea re juvaretur: Sed male feriatu is servus,

ubi quadamtenus industriæ istius fuisset conscius, nequissime cum hero se gessit. Nam cum *Johanne Guttenbergio*, popolare suo, pinguis census homine, ac vitæ forte aurifice, se socians; qui jam de arte quidpiam subodorabatur (ut meritoria cujus opera fabricandis ad id instrumentis usus antea fuisset *Mentelius*) secreta quæ a patrono fuerat expiscatus, detexit. Ac sic utrique cum nova & illustria per ipsam nomina comparandi spes foret; nec tamen impune id *Argentorati*, ubi esset inventor possent consequi, illac egredi apud se constituerunt, ac *Moguntiam* profecti sunt. *Mentel*. p. 6, 7.

„ cret

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„ cret, which he had been intrusted with by his master. These two hoping to make themselves famous by this art, but being fearful of divulging it at *Strasburgh* where the inventor liv'd, resolv'd to remove thence, and settle at *Mentz*. „

WITH respect to this chronicle and the writer of it, we only know what our author tells us in his translation inserted at the bottom of the page, for the chronicle is written in *high dutch*. As it wants therefore some better authority for its support, Dr. *Mentel* brings, as a confirmation of it, the testimonies of the writers quoted in our third chapter, who make mention of *Guttenberg's* carrying the art from *Strasburgh* to *Mentz*, where he perfected it by the assistance of *John Faust* alias *Gensfleisch*; whose words are not therefore necessary to be repeated here. In the next place he alledges an inscription, which with *Mentel's* coat of arms was put at the beginning of *Otho Brunsfield's Onomasticon* printed at *Strasburgh* by *John Schott* anno 1543, importing ¹, that these arms of *Schott's* family had been given to *John Mentelin*, first inventor of the art of Printing, and to his posterity by the Emperor *Frederic III.* anno 1466. After this he gives us a *latin* epigram written by *Erhard Windsberg* and inscrib'd to the three famous *Germans*, who set up the first Printing-press at *Paris*. In the first verse of this he has thought fit to change the word *Alemannia* (*Germany*) for these of *tu Argentina* (*thou Strasburgh*) as more proper for his purpose.

THE book, at the end of which are these verses, is the *Epistles of Crates the Cynick*, printed by *Martin Crantz* and his two partners beforemention'd anno 1470, not at *Strasburgh*, as our author would fain insinuate to his readers, but at *Paris*; where it is still extant in the library of the *Sorbon*, and was seen among others by *Chevillier*, who has occasionally confuted *Mentel's* supposition, and expos'd his unfair quotation of the epigram, pag. 31. of his *History of Printing*; as we shall shew in its proper place.

THIS is all that I can find in *Mentel's* book, which has the appearance of argument: the rest consists chiefly in digressions, and quotations in praise of the art, and of the *German* nation; which are entirely foreign

¹ Insigne *Schottorum* familiæ ab *Frederico Romanorum III* imperatore *Joanni Mentelin* primo *Typographiæ* inventori, ac suis concessum anno 1466. p. 104.

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to this controversy. In short our author shews himself more desirous of appearing zealous for his ancestor's honour, than solicitous what credit his work will merit among the learned: I shall give an instance or two of this, and proceed to the confutation of his main arguments.

IN page 31, he gives us a piece of a comedy written by the famous *Swedish* poet *Nicodemus Frischlin*; but is pleas'd to overlook the lines quoted by us before at p. 19, in which he affirms, *John Faust* citizen of *Mentz* to have been the inventor of the art; tho' they are at a very small distance from the passage quoted by him; what is still more remarkable is, that *Mentel* affirms that our *Swedish* poet dedicated this dramatic piece to the senate of *Strasburgh*; which he would scarce have done, had he dreamt any thing of that city's claiming the glory of this invention against his Hero *John Faust*, or heard any thing of the charge of theft alledg'd against him by the *Strasburgers*. The other instance of his unfairness is no less considerable at p. 67; where having suppos'd that the *Rationale Durandi* was not printed 'till after the falling out of *Faust* and *Guttenbergh*, viz. ann. 1461, to evade the force of the real date 1459, he says with a very serious air, that he had credible information from men of great learning, both Printers and others, that it was wrong printed, and that the figure I, which is put before, should have been after the X, that instead of MCCCCLIX, it should have been MCCCCLXI: whereas Mr. *Mattaire* assures us¹, that the year is not printed with numeral letters, but in words at length, *one thousand four hundred fifty nine*; I can hardly suppose Dr. *Mentel* could be mistaken for want of an opportunity of consulting the book itself, seeing it is to be so easily met with in several libraries of *Paris*, which stand always open to the learned and curious; and I don't find he has been wanting in ransacking them to find out any thing to his purpose: tho' should even this supposition about the date be allow'd, it would not therefore follow, that no books were printed before the year 1460 with *Faust's* and *Schoeffer's* names, exclusive of *Guttenbergh's*, as Dr. *Mentel* attempts to persuade his readers; for the *Psalorum codex* printed ann. 1457 mentions only the names of the two former; and the

¹ Vide quæso *Mentelii* in opinione falsa obstinati, ipsiusque hominum ornatissimorum hallucinationem manifestam; annus enim illius libri exprimitur non numeralibus litteris, sed

disertis verbis. *Millesime quadringentesimo quinquagesimo nono. Annual. Typograph. p. 11. annot. col. 1.*

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latter was never printed in any book that could yet be produc'd. What is said will suffice, I hope, to give an idea of this author's sincerity, whose three principal authorities I shall now examine.

FIRST, as to the *Strasburgh* chronicle, we may reasonably be excus'd for not laying the same stress upon it, that our author doth; since the obscurity of the writer, a suspicion of his partiality for his country's honour, and a difficulty of believing a person in his own cause in opposition to a great number of more credible witnesses, are obstacles almost invincible. I am therefore inclin'd to think, that the bare opposing of the chronicle of *Cologne* and *Trithemius*, who assert that the art was first brought from *Mentz* to *Strasburgh*, will be a sufficient confutation of it, tho' there were no other authorities for the one, nor arguments against the other. However we have an unexceptionable witness to produce against this chronicle, viz. the learned *Wimpbeling*, who was not only an eminent citizen of *Strasburgh*, and almost contemporary with the discovery of the art, but is likewise quoted by *Dr. Mentel*, tho' his testimony be diametrically opposite to his purpose: the first part of the passage is set down at length in pag. 15, wherein he attributes the whole invention to *John Guttenbergh*; and tells us that he did not perfect it 'till he had been sometime at *Mentz*; whilst *John Mentel* undertaking the same business, printed a great many volumes very neat and correct, and grew exceeding rich in a short time¹. This is all that *Wimpbeling* says of *Mentel*; nor has any author, except that of this *Strasburgh* chronicle, mention'd or suppos'd him to be the inventor, but only one of the first that practis'd that art at *Strasburgh*: and if the reader will recollect what most of the writers, quoted in the third chapter of this book, have said concerning *Guttenbergh's* leaving *Mentz* and returning to *Strasburgh*, where some of them affirm him to have taught *Mentel* the art; we shall not wonder that *Wimpbeling* makes him the first inventor of it, seeing he practis'd it there sometime before it was known that *Faust* had done the like at *Mentz*; and was consequently the first Printer, that *Wimpbeling* might know of: nor is it reasonable to suppose that *Guttenbergh* could have been weak enough to say any thing

¹ Interea Joannes Mentel id officii genus imprimendo factus est brevi opulentissimus. inceptans, multa volumina castigate & polite *Wimpbel. loco citato.*

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of what had pass'd at *Mentz* between *Faust* and himself, it being so little to his credit.

MENTEL's next authority is taken from the coat of arms given to the family by the Emperor *Frederick III*; for which there is no other testimony but the first leaf of the *Onomasticon*. However supposing it to be authentick, may we not with the greatest reason oppose to it the patent or privilege granted by the Emperor *Maximilian* to *John Schoeffer*, in consideration of his being the grand-son of *John Faust* the first inventor of the art of Printing? this privilege being of much later date than the other, may be reasonably enough suppos'd a retraction of the former, which might have been surreptitiously obtain'd; especially considering that *Faust* has the concurrent testimonies of writers and incontestable facts, but *Mentel* only brings an old chronicle and the most precarious grounds to support his pretensions. However the authentickness of this grant is not only much question'd by the generality of writers, but has one material objection against it, which is, that the person to whom it was given, never made any mention or shew of it in all the books printed by him at *Strasburgh*, which, according to *Wimpbeling's* account, were very numerous. It seems to me surprizing, that if he had really obtain'd such a noble testimony of his being the first inventor of Printing, and had been so treacherously robb'd both of the secret and the glory of it by a faithless servant, he had not made use of his Imperial Majesty's authority (whose subject he was as well as *Faust*,) to confirm the honour of the invention upon himself, and the shame of the theft upon the other. But on the contrary, there is not one book to be met with, (tho' we may reasonably think Dr. *Mentel* was not negligent in such a search,) that was printed by *John Mentel* before the year 1473, and even this was without any mention of the place where it was printed; as appears from the *Speculum morale* of *Vincentius* in folio, which is the oldest book known to bear his name: whereas *Faust* and his son-in-law put their names to their impressions almost sixteen years before that time, as is plain from the *Psalmodum Codex* printed ann. 1457. What is still more wonderful, is, that *John Mentel* never plac'd this coat of arms in any of his books as we can find; for the oldest edition that hath it, is the *Geographical work of Ptolemy* printed by his nieces son MDXX, that is, 70 years after the invention

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vention, 64 years after the grant, and 63 after *Faust* had begun to print in his own name, even by *Mentel's* own confession.

I come now to consider the epigram, and Dr. *Mentel's* wild inferences from it, (which he grounds upon a supposition, that the *epistles*, at the end of which it is printed, were done at *Strasburgh*,) from which he would conclude, that from this city, not only the three first Printers of *Paris*, to whom they are inscrib'd, but also the most celebrated ones of *Europe* came. His words are these: „ So truly may it be affirm'd, that this „ art at first flow'd from *Strasburgh*, as from its fountain-head, whence „ it dispers'd it self abroad: to that city therefore, and to the greatest „ part of her first Printers mention'd by *Wimpheling*, is that epigram of „ *Erhard Windsberg* directed, which is at the end of *Crates's Epistles*; „ wheresoever these are printed, (for there is no place nam'd, tho' I „ shou'd rather think at *Strasburgh*,) they being done with some of the „ first types, whose rudeness plainly shews the infancy of the art. „ All this is said without any foundation, and would scarce have deserv'd to be inserted here, but that it afforded me an opportunity of shewing the reverse from the testimony of *Chevillier*, who examin'd and compar'd the the edition of *Crates's Epistles* with the first impressions of these three Printers of *Paris*, which are given under the first list, and found them exactly alike: they are all done upon the same paper, with the same types, ink, &c. and demonstrate the infancy of the art. He adds farther, that there is a greater probability that these three partners came from *Mentz* than from *Strasburgh*, tho' there is no record left of the particular place, but of *Germany* in general; because he finds a great conformity between their characters and impressions, and those of *Peter Schoeffer*; thus he tells us p. 51 of his *History of Printing*, that the *Speculum* of *Zamora* printed by them at *Paris* ann. 1475, bears a very great likeness with *St. Jerom's Epistles* printed at *Mentz* 1470; their *Rationale Durandi* of 1475 with *Schoeffer's Speculum Harpianum X Præceptorum*;

¹ Ut ita consentaneum sit asseverare, ab *Argentorato* velut a capite hoc artificium primo fluxisse atque dimanasse. Hinc ad eam suosque magnam partem *Typographos* primores illos quorum meminit *Wimphelingus Erhardi Windsberg* cujusdam epigramma, quod habetur in calce

Epistolarum Cratetis, ubi ubi-vis gentium (nam locus non ponitur, quanquam putem *Strasburgi*, at certe novellis, & artis infantiam plane redolentibus literarum characteribus impressarum, &c. p. 15.

K

their

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their edition of *Utinus's* *lenten Sermons* of 1477, with the *Scrutinium Scripturarum Pauli Burgenfis* printed at *Mentz* 1478; from which the author reasonably concludes, that it is more likely they came from the city of *Mentz* than from that of *Strasburgh*. I shall now subjoin at the bottom of the page the epigram, both as it is printed in the genuine edition of the *Epistles*, and as *Mentel* has alter'd it¹: I need not, I believe, point out to the reader the material difference between *Alemannia* and *tu Argentina*; the latter of which, were it authentick, would undoubtedly determine the dispute on the side of *Strasburgh*: but as the former is exactly according to the edition preserv'd in the *Sorbon* library, ever since it was printed; 'tis plain that author of the epigram, who was probably a country-man and intimate acquaintance of the three Printers, and corrected their editions, adding sometimes a copy of verses in their praise, did not design to particularise any city, but to give the honour of the art to the *German* nation in general. It is likewise probable enough, that they might not come all three from one and the same city, but perhaps each of them from a distinct one; in which case the poet must have been forc'd, either to name them all, or disoblige one or two of them, or spoil a good epigram; and therefore rather chose to compliment them under the name of *Germans* without regard to the place of their birth.

THO' I have now done with *Dr. Mentel*, yet before I close this controversy it will not be improper to observe that there are two cities more of *Germany*, which have laid claim to this invention, *viz. Ausburgh* and *Russenburgh* in *Alsace*. The first of these owes its original to a passage misunderstood in the supplement to *Polydore Vergil De rerum inventoriis*, attributed by *Irenicus* to *Gilbert Cognatus*, and printed ann. 1604 in 16°, it runs thus: „ The art of Printing is reported to have been discovered by the industry of *Peter Schoeffer* of *Ausburgh*, or invented by „ some of his relations, and cultivated by him. „ 'Tis plain here, that

¹ *Erhardi Windsbergh epigramma ad Germanos librarios egregios, Michaeli, Martini & Uldarico.*

Genuine Edition.

Plura licet summæ dederis, *Alemannia*, laudi,

M E N T E L.

Plura licet summa dederis, tu *Argentina*, laudi,

At reor hoc majuste genuisse nihil;
Quod prope divinam summa ex industria fingis
Scribendi hanc artem, multiplicans studia.
Felices igitur, *Michael Martineque* semper
Vivite, & *Ulrici*, hoc queis opus imprimitur;
Erhardum vestro & non dedignemini amore,
Cui fido semper pectore clausi eritis.

the

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the author doth not say that the art was invented at *Ausburgh*, but that the inventor was a native of the place; in which he was certainly mistaken, seeing *Schoeffer*, who best knew the place of his own birth, declares himself in all his inscriptions a native of *Gernsheim*, a small town upon the *Rhine*, a little below *Worms*. Besides we have no books extant, which are printed before the year 1471 at *Ausburgh*, when *John Schuster* gave an edition of *Paul Orosius's Chronography* in folio. The other town, viz. *Russenburgh* is likewise said by the same *Irenicus* to have been esteem'd by some writers, the inventress of the art of Printing; and that it receiv'd its name from the noise of the many Printing-presses at work in it: but this name seems to be more antient than that art; and no book printed there has been ever produc'd, nor any author of antiquity mention'd it; so that this was only a mistake in *Cognatus*, if he was the writer of the book beforemention'd. I hope, that by this time enough has been said, to satisfy the reader, that all which hath been urg'd in favour of *Harlem*, *Strasburgh*, or these two last cities, is unworthy to come into competition with these noble testimonies and facts we have alleg'd on the side of *Mentz*. I shall therefore with the greatest pleasure dismiss this rough and tedious path of controversy, and resume the thread of our history.

C H A P. VIII.

The Time of the Discovery of Printing.

THE difficulty of fixing the exact time of the discovery arises from these two reasons: 1. Because the inventors made many fruitless tryals, and a great number of maculatures, before they could bring the art to any tolerable degree of perfection: 2. Because the vast expences of such a discovery oblig'd them to keep it secret as long as possible, or at least 'till they had reimburs'd themselves in some measure, by finishing the *latin bible*, which tho' a great and expensive work, was most likely to compensate their pains and cost when finish'd. This is the foundation of the disagreement between writers upon the subject; which may how-

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ever be easily reconcil'd by attending to the different epocha's, from which they date the discovery. Some of them, as *Wimpbeling*, *Palmerus*, *Althamerus*, &c. date it from the infancy of the invention of wooden blocks, and assign the year 1440. Others, as the author of the chronicle of *Cologne*, *Trithemius*, *Aventine*, and many more, from the invention of fusile types ann. 1450. *Andrew Thevet*, *Angel Rocha*, &c. fix the discovery of the former method in 1442; whilst others place the time of the second invention in 1453 or 1454, among whom are *Apianus* and *P. Langius*. Lastly, *Philip Bergomensis* and *Peter Ramus* assign the year 1458 for the perfection of it. To accommodate this discrepancy among all these authors, it will be sufficient to say with relation to the first, that they take their date from the time in which the invention of wooden blocks was perfected, rather than from its infancy: with respect to the last, that they thought a ten years interval much too short for the transition from the infancy of the former to the perfection of the latter method, and therefore allow'd a few years more than their predecessors had done. As for those who fix the latter invention in 1458, they were such as esteem'd the first printed book to have been the *Catholicon* printed ann. 1460, or perhaps the second impression of the *bible* ann. 1462, or *Tully's offices* ann. 1466, as *Zwinger* and others suppos'd; and allow'd some years more for the invention and perfection of the art. Now 'tis plain that before the *Psalorum Codex*, as we have hinted, there is not any book known to have been printed with an *imprimatur* at the end; and it is equally certain, that the learned knew nothing of this last book 'till the year 1669, in which *Peter Lambeck* publish'd the second part of his catalogue of the *imperial library*, where this noble monument is preserv'd; which is the reason that it is omitted in all the lists of the first printed books. 'Tis not strange therefore that these writers, for want of dates and facts, should be oblig'd to guess, as well as they could, at the time of the discovery. However we find that the chronicler of *Cologne*, *Serrarius*, *Sebast. Munster*, and others after them, well enough reconcile this diversity of opinions, by assigning the year 1440 for the former invention, and 1450 for the latter. To these if we add the authority of *Trithemius*, who certainly had the best information in this matter, from *Peter Schoeffer* a principal person in the invention, it will be evident, that about the year 1440 they began to apply

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ply themselves to cutting or engraving upon wooden blocks, after the *Chinese* manner, and printed some books with them; but that after the year 1450 they found out a more excellent way, for these are *Tribemius's* words in the famous passage quoted in *chap. 3¹*, viz. of casting separate metal types: this method they might have been devising and trying before that time, *i. e.* during some part of the first ten years; tho' they continued still printing after the old way, 'till they had quite perfected the new one; either to bring in a continual supply of money necessary, or perhaps to keep the world from prying into the new discovery wherein they were engag'd.

I have said nothing hitherto of the *dutch* writers, who to make the time of this invention agree with *Junius's* story of *Faust's* pretended theft, have put it back, some above ten, others twenty years: how little credit they merit in this particular is already shewn; and the reader will be still more convinc'd of it, when he sees what shifts they are reduc'd to, for want of authorities to oppose to the vast number of writers quoted on *Faust's* side, not one of whom ever thought of fixing this remarkable epocha beyond the year 1440.

THEIR first authority is the inscription set over *Laurence Coster's* door by one of the citizens of *Harlem*, which is mention'd by all the *dutch* writers, and says that he found out this art *ann. 1430*: but this is of too recent a date to be of any weight.

SCRIVERIUS in his *apology against Naudé* makes the discovery two years older, and gives us a *Chronographic* verse¹, whose numerical letters make up the date of MCCCCXXVIII, *Boxborn* carries it still farther back, viz. to the year 1420.

BUT as the two former dates were affirm'd without any foundation, this author has endeavour'd to confirm his own with something, that might bear the appearance of authority; and to reconcile it with the other two, by affirming that *Coster* began to lay the foundation of this art *ann. 1420*, tho' he did not perfect it 'till ten years after. The author, upon whose testimony he would have us believe it, is one *Joseph Karro*, a *Jewish*

¹ Post hæc inventis successerunt subtiliora, inveneruntq; e modum fundendi formas omnium Latini alphabeti literarum, &c.

² hIC fago eXfCVLptas LaVrentI CVs-
pIde forMas.
Scrivver. Apolog. pro patr. contra Naudæum.
Rabbi

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Rabbi, who in a book intitl'd *Shulkan Aruch* or *Mensa instructa*, extracted by him out of another Jewish book call'd *Arbagh Thurim*, i. e. *quatuor ordines*, tells us of an old chronicle printed at *Venice* A. M. 5188, which answers to our year MCCCCXXVIII. This book of *Rabbi Joseph* he owns that he could never meet with; yet he infers from what is said there, that there could be no printing at *Venice* at that time, unless *Harlem* had it some years before. I shall content my self with giving *Boxhorn's* words in the margin¹; especially since neither his *Rabbi* nor himself have gain'd any credit in this particular; as it would indeed be wonderful, if a *Jew* should be believ'd before the concurrent testimonies of all the learned men in *Europe*. If he wrote what *Boxhorn* quotes out of him, he either was prodigiously mistaken, or affirm'd it (as is too common with his nation) contrary to his knowledge: tho' if we should deny that he ever wrote thus, I can't see with what reason *Boxhorn* could resent it; since he neither saw the book himself, nor gives the author's name from whom he took it. However leaving him and the rest of the *Dutch* writers to search for more authentick proofs than what they have hitherto alleg'd, let us return to our own, which if we dare rely upon, as we have the greatest reason to do, it will be plain, that this art was first attempted about the year 1440, and about ten years after happily perfected by *John Faust* and *Peter Schoeffer* in the city of *Mentz*; that tho' the former imperfect method was known in *China* some hundred years before we had it, yet this latter, the only one which deserves the name of printing, was neither known nor practis'd 'till those two persons had communicated it to some of their servants, by whom it was divulg'd and dispers'd over *Europe* and even beyond it. This will appear more evident in the next and subsequent chapters.

¹ Circa annum 1420 prima nobilissimæ artis Typographicæ fundamenta a *Laurentio Costero Harlemi* poni coepta. Quod in annum hujus sæculi vigesimum, non tricesimum, aut quadagesimum, ut fit vulgo, hanc artem periclitatam velim, suadet *Rabbi Josephus*, qui in chronico suo exemplar omnium vetustissimum *Venetis* excusum refert anno Judaico 5188, Christi anno MCCCCXXVIII. Josephum istum diu quæsitum videre non licuit: Chronicon haud dubie illud est quod *Mensa instructa* inscri-

bitur; liber est ex *Arba Turim* excerptus per *Rabbi Joseph Carro*, & in formam thesium & conclusionum redactus; adjectæ sunt novellæ glossæ & observationes de jure, ritibus & consuetudine horum temporum per *Mosem Iserles*: tertium impressus *Cracoviæ* anno Christi 1594, indicante in *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* rerum & scriptorum orientalium peritissimo *Johanne Buxtorffo*. Locum hunc certe velim accuratius aspiciant, qui habent.

C H A P. IX.

Of the first books printed by Faust and Schoeffer.

THERE has been frequent occasion of mentioning the *Catholicon*, as the first tryal of the art of Printing, according to *Trithemius's* testimony; but as it is our design to speak of those only, which are done with separate metal types, and bear some certain date or mark of the Printer; I shall suspend the account of it, 'till I come to treat of its second impression by the same *Faust* and *Schoeffer* ann. 1460.

'TIS certain that if only that book, which bears the oldest date, is to be esteem'd the first printed; the *book of psalms* so often mention'd will bid the fairest for the first rank. Nevertheless I can see no reason to depart so far from the testimonies of *Trithemius* and the *Chronicle of Cologne*, as not to allow the preference to the *Latin Bible*, which, as they tell us, was the first book, to which the pious authors of this art thought fit to consecrate their labours. In this opinion they have been follow'd by many learned and judicious writers both antient and modern; particularly *Malincrot*, *Chevillier*, *de la Caille*, *Paul Pater* and *Watson*. I shall therefore select the strongest of their reasons, add a few remarks of my own upon them, and leave the decision to the reader.

FIRST with respect to *Trithemius's* testimony; which, I think, is unexceptionable, seeing he affirms nothing but what he had from *Peter Schoeffer's* mouth: He plainly enough intimates, that the *Bible* was their first work, when he says that the art was found out by degrees: that after they had finish'd the discovery in speculation, and came to put it in practice, they were involv'd in many difficulties: that 'soon after or from the beginning of this invention, when they went about printing the Bible,' before they had finish'd the third quaternion (or quire of four sheets,) the charges amounted already to four thousand *florins*, a prodigious sum in those days. If we duly consider these words, we cannot but conclude the *Bi-*

† A primo inventionis suæ, &c. impressuri namque Bibliam. *Trithem. loco supra citato.*

ble to have been the first book they engaged in. Our author indeed mentions not the year in which it was printed; but this might proceed from forgetfulness or want of information. However since such a work could not be finish'd in a short time, when the art was in its infancy, the hands but few and unacquainted with the several branches of composition, imposition, correction, distribution, &c. we may suppose the invention to have been perfected in speculation about the year 1450, and yet to have required some time before it could be put in practice, by reason of the difficulties arising in it; so that it will be reasonable to allow a year or two more, before the impression of the *bible* could be compleated. This may in all probability be the reason why *Tribemius*, who is always very exact in his *chronicles*, and mentions the year of any fact, when he is sure of it, rather chooses to make use of a more general expression in this case, viz. *his temporibus* about this time, when he speaks of the year 1450: if we recollect that he expresses himself in the same words in his first *Chronicle*, we shall be oblig'd either to allow a larger scope to them; or else suppose that the *Catholicon*, which was done in wood, and the *Bible* printed with metal types, were finish'd at the same time, which would be absurd.

THE *Manuscript Cologne Chronicle* tells us, that it was printed in the *Jubile* year 1450, in a large character, such as is us'd in the impressions of *Missals* or *Mafs books*, which answers to our *Double Pica*. This *Chronicle* was written in *high dutch ann.* 1499; the author of which acquaints us, that he had the particulars of this invention from *Ulric Zel*, an old bookseller then living at *Cologne*. As the original is not so well understood here, I shall subjoin at the bottom of the page, the whole passage in latin, as I find it translated by *Malinkrot*¹: the words are to this purpose, „ that the art of Printing was found out at *Mentz* — *ann.* 1440: that „ from that time to 1450 they were employ'd in perfecting it: that they

¹ Ars primum inventa in Germania urbe *Vogtina* ad *Rhenum* circa annum 1440; & ab eo donec scriberetur 1450, inventioni ejus eorumque quæ ad illam pertinent, opera impensa fuit; eoque anno, qui *Jubilans* fuit, coeptum fuit primum libros imprimere; primusque qui excuderetur liber *Eiblia* fuere *Latina*, impressaque

ea sunt scriptura grandiori, quali hodie *Missalia* imprimi solent. — initium & progressum memorati artificii ex honorabilis magistri *Ulric Zel Hanoviensis* narrantis ore cognovi, qui etiam nunc hoc anno 1499 *Colonia* Typographum agit. *Vid. Malinkrot de arte Typog.* p. 37.

„ began to print books in the *Jubile* year: and that the first that was „ printed was the *Latin Bible*, in a large character, &c. „ Here *Ulric Zel*'s words are to be taken in a lax sense; for he is far from saying that any thing in this kind, much less the *bible*, was finish'd in the year 1450; but only that they began then to set about printing it: how long it was before they compleated it, or what date it bore, is what he neither doth, nor perhaps could so well inform us of. However, tho' we cannot be certain either from him, or *Trithemius*, when this noble work was perfected; yet it is manifest from their testimony, that, except some maculatures and small tryals, the *Bible* was the first considerable piece printed by *Faust*.

I am not ignorant that Mr. *Mattaire* in his *Annals* has declar'd himself of the contrary opinion; but as he has not confuted any of the above-mention'd testimonies, tho' he must have read them in the authors before quoted, nor given any reason for his departing from them; I have given preference to the judgment of so many learned writers confirm'd by two such considerable testimonies, to his single opinion. I apprehend but two tolerable objections against this; the *first* is, that not one of these *bibles* is known to be extant: The *second* is, that *Faust* cannot probably be suppos'd to have begun with so large and expensive a volume, when a smaller would have been more proper for an essay, and brought him a more speedy gain. To the *first* I answer, 1. That this *bible* being so full of abbreviations, &c. in imitation of the old way of writing, and difficult to be read, might undergo the same fate with many other books both MS. and others, to be thrown by and destroy'd, when the fairer and more legible impressions came in vogue: 2. The learned *Saubert* in his *Oration de Bibliotheca Reipublicæ Noribergensis* tells us, that he had seen no less than eight copies of them in the *Norican* library, without date, colophon, or any other mark of their being printed by *Faust*. As I have not been able to procure *Saubert*'s book, I must content my self with giving the reader the passage out of *Paul Pater*, in which this is mention'd: it is as follows, ' „ The *Latin Bible*, commonly suppos'd to

¹ *Biblia Latina*, quorum translatio *Divo Hieronymo* vulgo tribuitur, circa 1450 & sequentem *Moguntia* in membrana impressa, quorum

Faustus exemplar nummis uncialibus seu thaleris septingentis quinquaginta *Parisiis* venum dederat, ut supra ex *Abbate Spanhemensi* narravi-

L

„ have

„ have been translated by St. Jerom, printed at *Mentz* upon vellum about
 „ 1450 or the following year, a copy of which *Faustus* sold at *Paris* for
 „ 750 crowns, as we related out of *Tritbemius*, is justly reckon'd among
 „ the first beginnings of this art by *Corn. Beughen* (in his *Incunab. Ty-*
 „ *pograph. Amsterd. ann. 1688.*) *Henry Salmuth* likewise mentions ano-
 „ ther Bible publish'd *ann. 1459*, at the end of which are these words ;
 „ *This present Rationale, &c. was finish'd at Mentz by John Faust, &c.*
 „ but *Salmuth* is doubtless mistaken in taking this book for the Bible, of
 „ which it was only a short explanation. A copy of this *Bern. Malin-*
 „ *krot* tells us that he had by him. I would not however be too po-
 „ sitive that there was not a *Latin Bible* printed in the same year, see-
 „ ing *John Saubert* owns that he had seen eight copies of it in the *Nori-*
 „ *can* library, without *Faustus's* colophon, undoubtedly for the reason
 „ beforemention'd, (*viz. in order to sell 'em for Manuscripts.*) „ From
 this passage it appears, that there are eight bibles without *Faust's* mark
 preserv'd in that library, and seen by *Saubert* ; tho' both he and *P. Pa-*
ter took them for the second impression, in which they are certainly mi-
 staken : 1. Because this was printed *ann. 1462*, and not *ann. 1459* : 2. Be-
 cause it is so far from having been printed without a *colophon*, that it
 has one of the fullest and plainest that *Faust* ever us'd at the end of any
 of his books : the reader will see it, when we come to the edition itself.
 But 3. 'tis not impossible but that there may be still more of these copies
 in some other libraries, as yet undiscover'd. The only intelligence
 which we had concerning these eight, is owing to *Saubert* ; neither would
 these gentlemen have believ'd that there had been a *Psalmorum Codex* printed
 at *Mentz ann. 1457*, tho' assur'd of it by *Tritbemius* and *Zel*, had not *Pe-*
ter Lambeck the Emperor's library-keeper 28 years ago told us, that he

mus, inter primordia merito numerari *Corneli-*
us Beughen memorat (*Incunab. Typograph. Am-*
sterd. ann. 1688 edui.) similiter *Henricus Sal-*
muth alium Bibliorum codicem ibidem lucem
 vidisse denarrat, cui hæc in fine verba erant ap-
 posita: *Præfens rationalis Divinorum codex con-*
summatum est per Johannem Faust civem Mo-
gunt. & Petrum Gernsheim. &c. ann. 1459,
&c. Sed errare hac parte *Salmuthum*, quod
 rationale illud sacrum scripturam esse putet,

cum tantum breve aliquod *Guillelmi Duranti*
 scriptum sit, quod se quoque possidere *Bern. a*
Malinkrot refert. Neque tamen prorsus nega-
 verim *Biblia Latina* hoc ipso anno vulgata ty-
 pis denuo fuisse, quandoquidem *Job. Saubertus*
 fatetur se in bibliotheca *Norica* octo exempla-
 ria vidisse, ac subscriptionis *Eustiniana* notis ca-
 ruisse haud dubie ob causam paulo ante a nobis
 adductam. *P. Pater de German. Mirac. Lipsiæ*
ann. 1710. pag. 75.

met with it in that famous library. I have been likewise assur'd from the mouth of a gentleman of credit, that a friend of his had seen one abroad with the date of 1457, and farther that 'twas his opinion 'twould be brought to *England*. How many authors have had a notion that *Tully's Offices* was the first printed book? yet time has produc'd no less than four printed before it, exclusive of the *bible* now in question; and may yet discover more concerning this.

I come now to the *second* objection so much insisted upon by some; *viz.* that 'tis improbable *Faust* would begin his first essays with a volume so large and expensive, when a smaller would have answer'd his purpose much better, and brought an immediate gain. My reply is, 1. That the great expence at first consisted in purchasing such a quantity of materials as the business requir'd, and not in printing of the first book, which was inconsiderable compar'd with that; consequently a smaller volume would have been too slender a reimbursement for such great sums expended: Besides we have shewn that they took up money of *Guttenbergh* for buying of parchment, &c. and were not so straitned as before. 2. As *Faust* design'd to sell as many of his first printed books as he could for manuscripts, in order to make up the cost which he had been at; 'tis obvious that he must pitch upon some considerable and valuable book, before his art was discover'd, and where could he fix upon one more adapted to his purpose than this? I will not insist upon the piety of the persons so conspicuous in all their inscriptions, (tho' our age may call it superstition,) which might have a great share in determining their choice. I shall only add, that as it was by no means adviseable for him to sell any of his first essays, lest they should betray his invention; so it was most prudent to make them upon the first leaves of the Bible, which if they succeeded, would in time make him ample amends; and if they did not, the loss was no greater than if they had been try'd upon a *Donatus* or a *Primer*. Besides none of our authors have affirm'd that he began to print the *bible* before he had perfected the art both in theory and practice; and made a sufficient number of maculatures and other tryals, which it was the most prudent way to burn as soon as printed off. I shall leave this discourse of the first *bible* to the reader's choice, either to close in with, or dissent from us in allowing it the first rank; and proceed now to the

remainder of our propos'd list. It will be necessary however to acquaint him, altho' we have given the preference to that sacred book upon the testimonies of so many antient and modern writers, tho' it bears no date, yet in the following list I am about to give him of these first impressions of *Faust*, we chiefly inquire after such as carry either date or some other certain mark of the year in which they were printed: for as to those that do not, I shall speak of them afterwards, and shew that those authors who thought to have found out their date, have prov'd to have been in an error; which will be a sufficient reason for us not to depend upon any others of the like nature.

NEXT to the *Bible* we find five several impressions, which have certainly been made between the years 1457 and 1466. The first of these, which as we hinted, is omitted in all the lists of the first books that have been printed before *Lambeck's* catalogue of the *Vienna* library, is the *Psalmorum Codex* printed at *Mentz* upon Vellum anno 1457; concerning this, what has been said already will suffice, the colophon of it is in the fourth chapter, p. 29.

THE second is the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, written by *William Durand*, printed at *Mentz* upon Vellum two Years after the *Psalter*, viz. anno 1459 by *John Faust* and *Peter de Gernsheim* or *Schoeffer*; *Malinkrot*, who knew nothing of the *Psalter*, reckons it the first printed Book next to the *Bible*; and tells us that he purchas'd one of them, which had formerly belong'd to a Monastery of *Franciscan* Monks, destroy'd by the civil Wars, the inscription of which is very near the same with that of the *Psalter*. This *Rationale* is likewise in the Earl of *Pembroke's* Library, where I saw it; it is beautifully printed in Folio, upon Vellum, and is a singular Beauty as to Press-work.

THE Supposition of *Malinkrot* and others that this was the first printed Book, was the reason that *Father L'Abbé* a learned *Jesuit* began his List of printed Books from the Years of its date, viz. 1459 to 1500. and the author of the Supplement to *Bellarmin's Ecclesiastical Writers* makes this remark upon it, That Anno 1459, *John Faustus* having discovered the art of Printing, first printed the Book of *Guill. Durand de Officiis Ecclesiasticis* in the city of *Mentz*. These authors were certainly

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in the right, seeing no book was then known of an older date : but since the second part of *Trithemius's Chronicle*, and the second volume of the *Imperial-library* have been publish'd, we must look some years back for the first impression, and give that rank to a more noble work.

THE *Third* is the *Catholicon*, a *Latin* vocabulary, printed at *Mentz* anno 1460. the second time ; for the first impression was done upon wood. This Book is likewise in the Earl of *Pembroke's* library, where I saw it, it is in a large folio, and beautifully printed. We have given the inscription of it in the fourth *chap.* p. 30, in which tho' the printer's name is not express'd, yet it was done by *Faust* and *Schoeffer*, both from the similitude of its character, paper, &c. with that of their other works, and because there were at that time no other printers either at *Mentz* or any where else. This *Catholicon* is a kind of *Grammar*, compil'd by *John* of *Genoa* a *Dominican Fryar* anno 1286. It is divided into four parts, the last of which contains a dictionary of *Latin* words digested alphabetically. There have been several editions of it in *folio*, as *Chevillier* tells us, who saw two of them ; one, very old and without date ; the other printed at *Paris* anno 1506. by *Jodocus Badius*. Another impression of it is done at *Lyons* by *Antony Du Ry* anno 1520, and augmented by *Peter Gille*. *Furetiere* therefore was led into a palpable error, when he affirm'd after *Dr. Mentel* and *Father Jacob a Carmelite*, that the first printed books known in *Europe* were *Durandus de Ritibus Ecclesiæ* printed anno 1461, a bible printed anno 1462, *St. Austin de Civitate Dei*, and *Tully's Offices* ; seeing here are no less than four printed books before the oldest of them ; besides this book *de Ritibus Ecclesiæ* was not written by *William Durand*, but by *John Stephen Durant*, who was first president of the parliament of *Tbolouse*, and is therefore a different book from the *Durand's Rationale* we are now speaking of, and of a much later date.

THE *fourth* is the second edition of the *Latin Bible* printed anno 1462. in *folio* with the following inscription at the end¹. “ This pre-

¹ Presens hoc opus finitum ac completum & ad eusebiam Dei industria in civitate *Moguntinâ* per *Johannem Faust* civem & *Petrum Schoeffer de Gernsheim* clericum *Dioecesis ejusdem* est

consummatum anno incarnationis *Dominicæ* *MCCCCLX. I* in vigiliâ *Assumptionis gloriosæ virginis Mariæ*.

sent work was finish'd and perfected for the service of God in the city of Mentz by John Fust citizen, and Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim clerk of the same diocese, it was compleated in the year of our Lord's incarnation MCCCCLXII on the eve of the assumption of the glorious virgin Mary." I have seen one in the library of Dr. Mead, and another at the late Mr. Woodman's bookfeller, in Vellum, and Chevillier saw two more at Paris in two volumes. Of this bible Walchius¹ relates a story, which ought to be mention'd here, as far as respects the common opinion. Faust went to Paris with some copies of it finely illuminated, where he sold one of them for 750 crowns, and another for 500; till at length he reduc'd his price to 50 and 40 crowns. The great quantity which he sold, and the exact likeness of every copy, made it suspicious that they were done by a more easy and expeditious way than that of writing; whereupon the buyers thinking themselves impos'd upon, began a prosecution which oblig'd him to fly the country, and return to Mentz. Thus far Walchius, who says nothing of Faust's being accus'd of magick, as some others affirm. What relates to the person of Faust will be best consider'd in the next chapter. As to the bible itself, 'tis my opinion, that the reason why the generality of authors have thought this second edition to have been that which he sold for MS. is, that they scarce knew of any other book printed before it²: but for my own part I cannot suppose that Faust would offer a book to sale for a written one, which had such an inscription, as must infallibly discover the cheat. 'Tis urg'd, that he might print a certain number of them without this, and after the discovery, reprint the last sheet with this colophon at the

¹ Walchius *decar fabularum generis humani* printed at Strasburgh 1609 in 4to. pag. 181

² Mr. Le Gallois in his treatise of the finest libraries pag. 160. tells us that there was nothing printed before this bible of 1462, which Faust brought to Paris. [quoique, en soit il est certain qu'on ne voit rien d'imprimé avant cette Bible que Faust apporta lui même a Paris] Father de St. Raomuld affirms likewise in his *Treasure Chronolog.* pag. 324. that we have nothing printed before the year 1462: and the great Naude, who in his addition to the history of Lewis XI. says that he had seen about 15000 old books in 20 or 30 of the most celebrated li-

braries in and about the city of Paris, and hath writ a treatise *ex professo* upon this subject, in the afore-mention'd book, chap 7. pag. 268. expresses himself thus; "but we have no book printed before 1462; and pag. 89. he says that we must needs suppose them (the first printers) to have made an infinite number of proofs and maculatures, before they could justify, and get all their implements fitted together; after which they began at length to compose, not Tully's Offices, &c. but the great bible in folio, which was finish'd anno 1462, Vide Chevillier pag. 17.

end: but this is improbable upon two accounts; first, he had already printed three books with inscriptions, viz. the *Psalter*, the *Rationale*, and the *Catholicon*; all which import particularly that they were not done with pen and ink or any writing tool, but by a fine new invented art of casting Letters, and printing with them. Now since some of these must of necessity have been known in *France* long before this year; it was impossible to have deceiv'd them by any but the first impression, unless we did suppose that he kept the three former unfold and unseen; which would be most absurd to imagine. But secondly 'tis plain that his design in selling them for MSS. was to reimburse himself for the vast charges which he had been at in devising this invention, preparing all the necessary materials, making essays, &c. Such expences must have reduc'd him above twelve years before this to the necessity of a recruit, seeing he had perfected the new invention, and began to print with it on or soon after the year 1450. as has been fully prov'd; nor can we in any probability suppose that he should work on for twelve whole years successively and print three editions, two of which were very large, without vending them; especially since he is reported by most authors to have enrich'd himself exceedingly by this time, and consequently wanted no such stratagem? If I could have obtain'd with all my endeavours any certain information of the year in which he went to *Paris*, it would have determined the dispute. However, if I may be allow'd a conjecture, since we find by the unanimous consent of writers that the art was perfected in the year 1450, and no books printed in his name till anno 1457 as yet known: *Faust* might most probably spend these seven years in Printing, illuminating and selling his first *Bible*; after which, his new art being discover'd, he thought it in vain to keep it secret longer; and therefore in his next book gave the world an account of his method, as we find in the *Psalmodium Codex* and those that follow'd it. What confirms my conjecture is, that *Guttenburgh*, who was prosecuted by *Faust* for the moiety of the money expended, and gave a deed bearing date 1455 for the payment, pursuant to the judge's determination, instead of complying with it, escap'd to *Strasburgh*, and left his partner in the lurch, this we may reasonably suppose, reduc'd *Faust* to such streights, as oblig'd him to go to *Paris* with what books he had, in order to sell them to the best advantage.

vantage. These reasons induce me to think that it was the *first*, and not the *second bible*, which *Faust* sold at such extraordinary rates: The reader is at his liberty to judge as he pleases in this matter.

THE *fifth* is the *Tully's Offices* printed at *Mentz* ann. 1465; tho' some editions have a later date by one, and others by two years, all of which are printed at *Mentz*, with the same inscription in every respect, as we shall shew immediately. The Right Honourable the Earl of *Oxford* shew'd me this book; 'tis a small 4to, and very beautifully printed, and well preserv'd. Sir *Thomas Bodley* had this in his library, which he presented to the university of *Oxford*, where it is still kept. Dr. *James* publish'd a catalogue of all Sir *Thomas's* books intitled *Catalogus Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ* in 4to anno 1605, in the 197 page of which book we find this *Tully's Offices* with the following inscription, *Ejusdem liber de Officiis, &c. an. 1465*. About 70 years after this, Dr. *Thomas Hyde* publish'd his catalogue of all the books in the university library, printed at *Oxford* in fol. ann. 1674, in which he gives the date of the book pag. 162; which is the same with the former, and confirm'd by *Antony Wood's* history of that university, printed likewise ann. 1674, pag. 228¹. Mr. *Beughen* mentions the same date in his list of the first editions², and tells us, that it was reprinted at *Mentz* two years after, viz. ann. 1467, and at *Rome* 1468. Father l'Abbê³ speaks of one which he saw in the *French king's* library dated 1466, and *Chevillier* saw another in the library of the *Mazarin-college*, with these words in red letters ⁴ *This present noble work Tully's Offices was done by John Fust citizen of Mentz not with pen and ink, &c. but by a new art, &c. by the hands of my boy Peter de Gernsheim ann. MCCCCLXVI on the fourth of February*. Several eminent writers, as I have already hinted, have esteem'd this the first printed book; among whom is *Peter Ramus* or *de la Ramee*, Royal professor of *Mathematicks* in the university of *Paris*, who had this edition in his library, and affirm'd it to be the first work

¹ Immo anno Domini 1465 ut fert aliud exemplar in *Bodleiana* [bibliotheca.]

² *Moguntia* in 4to ann. 1465, quæ postmodum sunt recusa ibidem, an. 1467 in 4to, & *Roma* 1468, &c. *Incunab. Typograph.* 46.

³ *Nor. Biblioth. MSS. lib. septim. pag. 353.*

⁴ Præsens *M. Tulli* clarissimum opus *Joan. Fusi* *Moguntinus* civis, non atramento, plumali canna neque ærea, sed arte quadam perpulchra, manu *Petri de Gernsheim*, pueri mei feliciter effeci. Finitum an. MCCCCLXVI, quarta die mensis februarii. *Chevil. p. 18.*

produc'd by the art of Printing: in this he has been follow'd by our country-man *Anth. Wood* in the book before quoted; by *Pasquier* in his *Recherches de la France*, lib. 4. ch. 4; and by several others. 'Tis very probable that the edition of 1465 and 1466 may be the same, the last sheet only reprinted; which may be easily known by comparing them together; and it were to be wish'd, that some of the Curioso's of *Oxford* would take that trouble, since they are both there, as appears from *Ant. Wood's* list.

AFTER the finishing of this book, *Faust* is suppos'd to have died, or lost his sight (as some report,) or at least to have grown so rich, that he left the business wholly to his son-in law *Peter Schoeffer*, who then instructed his son *John* in that art. We find no more books printed in *Faust's* name, all the rest being in *Peter Schoeffer's*, some of whose inscriptions are given in the *fourth* chapter.

I have dwelt somewhat longer upon these noble relicks of our first printers, because I am sensible of the great value, which the curious and learned have for them.

I come now to those of other, but fictitious dates, which it will not be improper to say something of, in order to prevent the reader from being deceiv'd or puzzled by them.

AMONG all the apocryphal editions that are to be met within any library, exclusive of those which are suppos'd to have been printed with wooden blocks, and discours'd of already in a distinct chapter, that which bears the oldest date is the Book of Sermons *de Sanctis* by *Leonard de Utino*. *John Godfrey Olearius*, Lutheran minister of St. Mary's church at *Hall* in *Saxony*, says it is still preserv'd in the library of that church, and dated 1446, tho' there be no mention of the place where it was printed: the reader will find his account of it quoted in the margin¹, in his book *de Scriptoris Ecclesiasticis*, publish'd under the title of *Abacus Patrologi-*

¹ Cum primum *Typographia* exemplum *Moguntia* editum sit anno 1466 — ut constat ex *Ciceronis Officiis*, quæ primum omnium librorum typis æneis impressa sunt: Exemplar *Officiorum* istorum habeo in membrana impressorum. *P. Ramus Schol. Mathem. lib. 2.*

² *Leonardus de Utino*, ordin. *prædic.* —

Ejus sermonum *de Sanctis* liber sub ipsa *Typographica* artis incunabula anno 1446 impressus, absque tamen loci mentione, habetur in bibliotheca templi *Mariani* nostri *Hall*. Confer. Dn. parentis *Halygraph*. Appendice T. t. t. 1. B. Sermones ejusdem *Quadragesimales* & *Dominicales* ann. 1479 prodierunt. *Abac. patrolog.* p. 291.

cus in 8vo at Jena 1673, in which he quotes the testimony of his father Godfrey Olearius, who wrote the history of *Hall*, printed at *Leipsick* in 4to. ann. 1667. Chevillier observes very justly, that Olearius hath mention'd neither the size nor printer of this ancient book; and that all who have since spoken of it, rely upon his testimony: he thinks therefore that it ought to have been more nicely enquired into, since if the date be true, it entirely overturns the receiv'd opinion that this art was not perfected 'till the year 1450: the reasons of his suspecting it is, because Utinus liv'd in *Italy* ann. 1445, according to Possevinus, and can hardly be suppos'd to have had such credit in *Germany*, as that his sermons should be printed after a new method scarce known to above five or six persons: he is therefore of opinion, that the book is a manuscript, or that Olearius has guess'd at the date, or which is most likely, that this is the date of the compiling, not of the printing of it.

MR. Mattaire has taken the pains to solve the greatest part of these doubts, and given the following account of it: „ That a very curious „ and learned gentleman of his acquaintance met with a copy of it at „ *Aix la Chapelle* in a monastery of regular monks, out of which he transcrib'd the following colophon printed at the end of it, in *English* thus:

*Thus end the golden sermons upon the Saints throughout the whole
year, compil'd by Master Leonard de
Utino, doctor of divinity, of the order of the fryars.*

„ Jam dabo tibi, lector, quod in votis habuit Chevillierus; unde editio tantæ vetustatis specie venerabilis testimonio novo certior fiat & notior. Vir quidam literarum peritus— dum Aquisgrani peregrinabatur ibi in Regularium cœnobio vidit librum supra memoratum, in fol. ex quo descripsit hæc, quæ in libri ipsius fine adjiciuntur.

Expliciunt sermões aurei de Sanctis per totum annum, quos compilavit mgr. Leonardus de Utino sacre Theologie doctor, ordinis fratrum predicator. ad instanciam & complacentiam magnifice civitatis *Utinensis* ac nobilium virorum ejusdem MCCCCXLVI in vigilia beatissimi patris nostri Dominici p̄fessoris, ad laudem & gl'iam Dei omnipotentis & totius curie triumphantis.

Libri ipsius character impolitus & rudis; abbreviaturisque frequentibus adeo refertus, ut ejus lectio nequaquam sit, quam illorum *Mozumia*

annis 1459 & 1460 excusorum faciliior. *An. nat. Typegr.* p. 25.

Preachers,

*Preachers, at the instance and intreaty of
the magnificent city of Utino, and the noble
citizens thereof MCCCCXLVI, on the eve of our blessed
father Dominick confessor, to the praise and glory
of almighty God, and of the whole triumphant court.*

Mr. Mattaire adds, that the characters of it are very rude and ill shap'd and so full of abbreviations, that they are as difficult to read, as those printed at *Mentz ann.* 1459 and 1460.

THIS makes it abundantly plain, that tho' the book carries the above-mention'd date, yet it bears testimony that the compiling and not the printing of it, is there intended; so that not only the difficulty disappears, but *Chevillier's* conjecture is manifestly supported: And Mr. *Mattaire* seems entirely of this opinion, and besides instances in a book or two which he hath, whose dates as he assures us, were those of their being compil'd; tho' the obscurity of their inscription, might possibly lead an unwary reader to take it for that of its impression: and indeed it is an unreasonable supposition, that Printing could have been brought to such a degree of perfection at that time, against the general testimony of writers: besides neither the abbreviations, nor the rudeness of the character, can be a sufficient index of their antiquity, seeing, as he observes, they continued in use among some eminent Printers even beyond the year 1500. In the next place I shall mention some editions, whose dates are certainly prov'd to be wrong. The first is the *Regula Pastoris* of Pope Gregory; a copy of which is in the *French king's* library, with this inscription suppos'd to be written at the end; *Tentamentum Fausti*, an essay of *John Faust ann.* 1459: now it is plain from what has been said before that *Faust* was so far from making any essays at that time, that he had already printed several perfect editions, Mr. *Mattaire* gives us this account of it *p.* 22. that he met with a book in 4to in the king's library at *Paris*, without the name of either place or Printer, only with this title, *Liber Regulæ pastoralis Gregorii papæ ad Johannem episcopum Ravenensem*: at the beginning of which *Gabriel Naudé* had written two verses to the reader with his own hand, intimating that book to have been certainly printed by *Faust* at *Mentz*, because the mark of the paper which is the head and horns of

an heifer, is an infallible criterium of *Faust's* books. And an advertisement in which he confirms his assertion, from the rudeness of the types, the want of diphthongs, and some other circumstances that favour the infancy of the art; and concludes, that *Faust* would not put his name, &c. to it, 'till his frequent essays had embolden'd him to make himself publick, as he did afterwards in the *Durand's Rationale* of 1459, *Catholicon*, &c.

MR. *Mattaire* doth indeed prove plainly enough, that the rudeness of the types, and want of dates, names, &c. continued some considerable time after the discovery of the art, and consequently that that could be no certain mark of its being one of *Faust's* first essays: however as nothing certain can be affirm'd concerning this book, we shall dwell no longer upon it. I have seen *Æneas Sylvius's* letters printed by *Koelhoff* of *Lubeck*, which is certainly antedated, for this reason, several dates in the letters being ten years older than the date of the book itself. There is another of his books in fol. in the library of the *Sorbon*, with a false date at the end of these words, *Flores de diversis sermonibus & epistolis B. Bernardi per me Joan. Koelhoff de Lubeck coloniensem civem impressi an. MCCCC, feliciter finiunt*: for 'tis plain the art was not so much as thought of at that time, nor perfected 'till 50 years after: but what demonstrates the falseness of the date is, that this *John Koelhoff* was scarce born then, since he printed the works of *N. Gerson* in 4 vol. in fol. at *Cologne* ann. 1483, which are of the same make and character as the *Flores* abovemention'd, as *Chevillier* p. 10 and 11 observes, who therefore thinks that the following numbers LXXXII were omitted at the end of MCCCC. The same author mentions two or three editions more of the same nature, the last of which is the *Manipulus Curatorum* of *Guy Mout Rocher* with the following, uncommon date at the end 'Printed at Paris in the year one thousand CCCC and twenty three, amen': 'tis plain that the art was not brought to *Paris* 'till the year 1470, as shall be shown in its place; so that the last C must have been taken up by the balls, or lost some other way. Upon the whole it may be esteem'd a general rule that all dates before the year 1450 are false; and this is corroborated with the suffrage of all learned writers upon this

¹ *Completus Parisiis anno Domini millesimo CCCC vicefimo tertio, amen. Chevill. p. 11.*

subject. In the mean time as it is not reasonable to imagine, that *Faust* and *Schoeffer* could be altogether idle from the year 1452, in which they are suppos'd to have finish'd their first *Bible*, to 1457, in which they publish'd the *Psalter*, (unless we can suppose that *Faust's* law-suit with *Gutenberg*, and his journey and stay in *France*, could take him up *five* whole years, and that his ingenious son did not venture upon any work by himself;) if time and industry should, as we may reasonably hope it may, discover any more of those old and valuable monuments of the infancy of the art; provided such impressions bear either a certain date or mark of their being done at *Menx*, and by our *Protodædali* before the dispersion of their servants, or even after that time; I doubt not but the learned will allow them a proper rank in the lists, which shall be publish'd hereafter.

C H A P. X.

*Remarkable Occurrences between the year 1450,
and the Divulgation of the Art.*

TH O' I propos'd to avoid all unnecessary repetitions, yet this chapter being design'd as a short recapitulation of the history of the first *twelve* years, the thread of which has been unavoidably interrupted by controversy; and to introduce some material occurrences, which could not properly be inserted in any other chapter, or such as may have escap'd the readers memory; I find the impossibility of joyning these notable events together, without interspersing them with most of those already touched upon: and this has render'd an apology before hand highly necessary.

I begin with the year 1450, in which 'tis agreed by most authors, that the art was perfected in theory and practice, the inventors having prepar'd their tools and materials, and made a great number of essays; thinking they might with safety attempt some considerable volume: Their next care was to carry on the business without danger of being discover'd: to this end they admitted as few servants as possible into any part of the secret,

cret, and such only upon whose fidelity they might depend, engaging them to the greatest secrecy by an oath. This being done they allotted to them their several provinces; but conceal'd every branch of Letter-founding and composing. If my authority be required, since all our accounts relating to these beginnings are so obscure and imperfect; I answer, that this may reasonably be infer'd from a remarkable passage out of the learned *Hen. Pantaleon*, a physician of *Basil*, part of which I have already quoted in a former chapter, as far as it related to *Faust* and *Schoeffer's* being the authors of this art; the remainder of it is as follows¹: „ This art was at the first kept very secret and communicated to „ but very few; for they (*Faust* and *Schoeffer*) tyed up the types in bags, „ which they brought into the work-room, and took away when they „ went out, 'till at length in process of time the business increasing caus'd „ the Art to be divulg'd. „ All the authors quoted by us agree with *Pantaleon* about their keeping the Art with all imaginable secrecy, but scarce any have inform'd us of this circumstance, of their carrying their types with them to and out of the work-room; which would have been a vain precaution, had they intrusted any but themselves in the compositor's part. However it is evident that the whole secret did not consist therein; the cutting the Punches, sinking them into the Matrices, making the Moulds and casting the Letters, might be still a secret to any one that had been intrusted so far as to go through all the branches of the business of Printing; and he must have been a person of a surprizing genius who could have found out the mystery of Letter-founding by barely seeing the letters, therefore the keeping that part to themselves was making it a greater secret than all the oaths they could bind them with.

THE next remarkable occurrence is that of their admitting *John Gutenberg* a wealthy goldsmith into partnership with them, as it is related by the last nam'd author, by *Salmuth*, and others quoted in the *third* chapter. This gentleman finding his neighbour *Faust* engag'd in a new and advantagious invention, which he wanted money to carry on, and attra-

¹ Erat enim ars illa primo abscondita & pauculis manifestata; litteras enim in facculis clausis secum in Officinas ferebant, ac dum abeunt,

auferebant; donec temporis successu ars aucta atque plurimum illustrata fuit. *Do illustribus German.* part. 2. pag. 397.

eted by a prospect of gain, offer'd his purse and assistance upon good terms to *Faust*; who gladly accepted the proposal. But *Guttenbergh* pursuing his own private rather than the common interest, and having attain'd some insight into the art, began to object that *Faust* had converted some of the money to his own uses, and refus'd the payment of his dividend of the charges; 'till *Faust* had obtain'd a decree, which oblig'd him to pay his moiety of what the plaintiff should swear had been expended upon the common fund: this he evaded by giving a bond payable some time after, and escaping to *Strasburgh* his native city, before it was due. But he first took care to learn as much of the art, as he could, to furnish himself with Printing-tools, and to draw off some of *Faust*'s servants with him. At *Strasburgh* he communicated to *John Mentel* or *Mentelin* the secret, and his design of setting up a Printing-house there: however neither he nor his workmen were so thoroughly instructed in the business, but they were oblig'd to demur a considerable time before they could perfect every thing for the work, and to make many tryals in order to attain the right method; which is evident from this, that there is no book extant with *Mentel*'s name 'till the year 1473, and not at all with *Guttenbergh*'s; for it is scarce probable, that if they had printed any considerable volumes before that time, they should all have perish'd without being so much as taken notice of by any author, and especially by their learned townsman *Wimpheling*: whilst there remain so many of *Faust*'s in the writings and in the hands of the learned and curious. During this time *Faust* finding himself impos'd upon by *Guttenbergh*, and disappointed of the money expected, and wanting either will or power to sue him in that city where he fled, form'd a stratagem to raise himself a fresh supply, which succeeded according to his wish; for he went to *Paris* with some of his finest vellum bibles; one of which was sold to the king for 750 crowns, and is still to be seen in the royal library at *Paris*, a master-piece in that kind: another was bought by the Archbishop of *Paris* for 300 crowns: but as people were unwilling to give so exorbitant a price, he offer'd some of the last for 50 crowns and less, in hopes to have dispos'd of them all before he was discover'd. It is not indeed to be suppos'd, that they were all equal in the ornamental part; yet the beauty of the work,

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the elegance of the flower-pieces, initial letters, &c. the variety of the finest colours intermix'd with gold and silver, with which they were exquisitely variegated, made the purchasers fond of shewing them to their acquaintance; as every one thought the whole world could not produce such another. 'Tis reported that the Archbishop thinking his *bible* worth his majesty's seeing, carried it to him; who view'd it with surprize, and in return shew'd his own: upon a stricter examination and comparing 'em together, they found that the ornaments were not exactly the same; but as to the other part suppos'd to be written, they observ'd such a conformity in the number of pages, lines, words, and even the letters, as soon convinc'd them that they were done by some other method than transcribing: besides two such *bibles* were the work of a man's life-time to transcribe; and upon enquiry he was found to have sold a much greater number. Hereupon orders was given to apprehend *Faustus*, and prosecute him as a **Conjurer**: I should have been apt to think this charge too absurd to gain belief, except among the vulgar; and that it was only conniv'd at, in hopes it would terrify him to a discovery of his art, were it not for a passage which I have met with in Mr. *Maichel's* history of the *Paris* libraries, wherein he mentions a strange problem publish'd by Father *Boubours*, a learned Jesuit — *Whether it be possible that a German should be a wit?* Mr. *Maichel* justly takes the part of his country-men, and proves them much wiser for the invention of Printing, than those stupid *Paris* doctors, who rather believ'd it an effect of **Magick**, than of human wit or invention. *De la Caille* relates that he fled to *Mentz*, and suspecting his safety there, departed to *Strasburgh*, where he taught *John Mentel* or *Mentelin* his Art: but there is not the least probability for this assertion, since he could not be safer at one place than at another; and with respect to *Mentel*, it is much more probable that he learn'd the invention from *Guttenbergh*, than from *Faust* who perhaps was never at *Strasburgh*, unless he pass'd thro' it in his journey to and from *France*.

HOWEVER, the parliament of *Paris* thought fit to make an arrest in favour of him, and to discharge him from all further prosecution, in consideration of his noble invention; and as I am credibly inform'd, a salary was paid by that crown to *Faust's* descendants for many years after, as a reward for his sufferings and merit: this was the end and success of that expedition,

expedition, and prov'd at length very advantageous to him; and made some amends for the melancholy hours of his confinement, and the terrors of an approaching death.

FAUST discharg'd thus with honour and a large supply of money, return'd to *Mentz*, where being inform'd that his quondam partner *Gutenberg* was endeavouring, with the assistance of *Mentel*, to set up a printing-house at *Strasburgh*, and to challenge to himself the whole glory of the invention; he began to consider, that it was not only in vain, but even dangerous to conceal himself and his art any longer from the world; and 'tis probable, resolv'd at last to make both as publick as possibly he could in all the editions, which came from his press, 'till at least, *ann.* 1466 or 1467, in which he is suppos'd to have reprinted the last leaf of *Tully's Offices*, the last book known to be printed by him. During the interval between 1457, and the taking of *Mentz ann.* 1462, *Faust* meeting with prodigious encouragement, was oblig'd to increase the number of his workmen, and open more of the art to them, than he had done 'till then. Some of these having attain'd a sufficient insight into the mystery, were induc'd to go somewhere else, and set up for themselves; to which they were encourag'd, both by the example of those who went away with *Gutenberg*, and probably by invitations from other places, which were desirous of having the Art brought to them. *Pantaleon* tells us, that some of those who signaliz'd themselves the first in *Italy*, were of that number; and indeed if we consider how soon they began to print in that kingdom, especially *Rome, Venice, &c.* and make a just allowance for preparing the great apparatus of a Printing-house, with their first essays, before they came to work off those volumes, which are of the oldest date, some of them pretty large; we cannot but think that they left *Mentz* long before it was taken. *Faust* however had a sufficient number of servants left to finish his last editions, which are mention'd before; after this we hear no more of him 'till the year 1471, wherein *Peter Schoeffer* and one *Henlif* a bookseller gave a book to a monastery, in order to obtain the prayers of it for *Faust's* soul: by which it was apparent he was dead before that time, or perhaps before 1470, because *Schoeffer* in that year printed *St. Jerom's Epistles* in his own name, without any mention of his master *Faust*.

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90 Occurrences between the year 1450, &c.

HERE therefore I am oblig'd to conclude the history of that illustrious man, tho' I should have been vastly more satisfy'd in communicating other particulars of his life and death, could I have found 'em in the writers of those times. But *Germany* is not the only ungrateful country that has neglected such as have best deserv'd of her; for the following books will furnish us with instances of this in other parts of the world. I shall only observe, that as it is the property of false desert to be solicitous for panegyrics and monumental records, whilst true and intrinsic merit is silent, and equally contemns both; so whilst the *Dutch* bestow the highest encomiums upon a suppositious and imaginary inventor: the *Germans* have been so regardless of a true and real one, as to leave it entirely to his own works to transmit his praises to posterity. If *Faust* had died before the sacking of *Mentz*, we might have had grounds to suppose, that some monument had been erected to his memory by his fellow-citizens, and destroy'd by the conqueror; but as he surviv'd those times at least six or seven years, and carry'd on and improv'd the Art during that interval, 'tis impossible to entertain so favourable an opinion of the *Moguntines*. However his books and the art which he left us, will more effectually and universally proclaim and perpetuate his name and memory, than any monumental inscriptions, &c. and endear both to the learned and curious, as long as the Art or the world itself shall endure.

THERE is one occurrence worthy to be mention'd, which I omitted in this chapter, not so much out of forgetfulness or neglect, since it is an instance of *Faust's* gratitude and generosity, as because it is not easy to fix the time of it, nor so likely to have happen'd within the compass of these ten years, as of some of the former, viz. between 1440 and 1450. That is, his giving his only daughter in marriage to his servant *Peter Schoeffer*, admitting him into partnership, and procuring him the freedom of the city of *Mentz*, as a reward for his services, and the improvements which he made to the Art; such as the invention of punches, matrices, metal-types; and, as some report, Printer's ink: if these discoveries are owing to him, *Faust* made him as ample amends as he could possibly. I wish *Schoeffer* had been so grateful to his generous master, as to have transmitted to us a fuller account of his life and character, than what we enjoy; or if he perform'd this, that time had not depriv'd us of

of so valuable a monument ; the want of which obliges me, much against my will, to bring this chapter and history to a conclusion, and rest satisfy'd with what we have.

C H A P. XI.

The Conclusion with an Account of the antient Method of Printing.

I AM now come to the close of the first book of this history, which I have endeavour'd to enrich with collections from dead and living authors, and every thing valuable that I could procure upon this subject, from many of the most curious libraries. The next book will open a large and pleasant scene. In the mean time I cannot conclude this better, than by giving a short summary of the whole, and digesting it into distinct periods, that the reader may, as it were at one view, see the whole progress of the Art, and fix it more easily in his memory ; and by closing it with an account of the old way of printing us'd during the time of *Faust*, his son-in-law, &c.

1. THIS Art was devis'd a considerable time before any thing done that way appear'd.

2. 'TIS not improbable that the first hints of engraving upon wooden-blocks might come from the *Chineses*, who practis'd it above 300 years before it was thought of in *Europe*.

3. THE attempts to imitate it began about the year 1440, and not before.

4. THE new and more perfect method of Printing with fusile-types did not succeed it 'till 10 years after, viz. 1450.

5. THIS new invention was discover'd by *John Faust* in the city of *Mentz*; in the perfecting of which *Peter Schoeffer* assisted him very much, and was amply rewarded by his master.

JOHN GUTTENBERGH had no other share or merit in this discovery, than by promoting it with supplies of money from time to time, and that not from a principle of a publick spirit, but for his own interest, which made him drop both the Art and Artist when he found it less gainful than he expected.

6. THIS invention was kept with all imaginable secrecy by these three parties, 'till *Guttenbergh*, upon a difference between them, took some of their servants with him to *Strasburgh*, where he began to practise it, and to teach it to *John Mentel*: The person in whose favour the *Strasburgh* pretensions were afterwards started.

7. THIS contention not happening 'till the year 1455, they had already printed the *latin bible*, and perhaps privately dispos'd of some number of the copies, seeing their dispute was about stating their accounts, and balancing the charges and profits of the business.

8. WHETHER their first separate types were of wood, or lead, or any other metal; they ventur'd to print their first essays but on one side of the page, 'till they had found out a better ink than the common sort which they then us'd.

9. IT is probable from this circumstance, that their first improvement upon common ink, to prevent its spreading, was only by charging it with a proportionable quantity of some watery gum; such as gum arabick, mastick, &c. which tho' it remedied that defect, would not suffer the paper to be printed but upon one side: but either *Schoeffer* or his master having found out the way of making it with oyl, they then printed on both sides.

10. THEY did not begin to put their names and inscriptions at the end of their books, as we can yet find, 'till the year 1457: this they continued to do 'till *Faust* either dyed or left off the business.

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11. GUTTENBERGH's name was never joyn'd with theirs, nor put to of the books which he printed after he abandon'd *Faust*.

12. SOME others of *Faust*'s servants forsook him before the taking of *Mentz*, and settled some at *Cologne*, others in *Italy*.

13. THE greatest dispersion of them was, when that noble city was taken and plunder'd by Archbishop *Adolph*, ann. 1462; so that the Art became universally known throughout *Europe*.

THERE remains now only to give the reader an idea of the first way of Printing, and of what is most peculiar to it; which, tho' a subject well known by the curious, may not be unacceptable to several persons, to whose hands this work may chance to fall.

1. WITH respect to their forms, they were generally either large or small *folio's*, or at least *quarto's*: the lesser sizes were not in use.

2. THE leaves were without running-title, direction-word, number of pages, or divisions into paragraphs.

3. THE character itself was a rude old *Gothic* mix'd with *Secretary*, cast on purpose to imitate the hand-writing of those times; the words were printed so close to one another, that it was difficult and tedious even to those who were us'd to MSS. and to this method; and often lead the inattentive reader into mistakes.

4. THEIR orthography was various and often arbitrary; and as for the diphthongs æ and œ, they were not at all careful about them.

5. THEY had very frequent abbreviations, which in time grew so numerous and difficult to be understood, that there was a necessity of writing a book to teach the manner of reading them.

6. THEIR periods were distinguish'd by no other points than the double and single one, *i. e.* the *colon* and *full stop*; just after the same man-

ner as the reading *psalms*, in our *Common prayer-books* are pointed; all other punctuations being of much later invention.

7. THEY us'd no great letters to begin a sentence or proper name of men-or places.

8. THEY left blanks for the places of titles, initial letters, and other ornaments, in order to have them supply'd by the illuminators, whose ingenious art, tho' in vogue before and at that time, yet did not long survive the masterly improvements made by the printers in this branch of their Art. Those ornaments were exquisitely fine, and curiously variegated with the most beautiful colours, and even with gold and silver; the margins likewise were frequently charged with variety of figures of saints, birds, beasts, monsters, flowers &c. which had sometimes relation to the contents of the page, tho' mostly none at all: these embellishments were very costly; but for those that could not afford a round price, there were others done after a more ordinary manner and at much cheaper rates.

9. THE names of the printer, place, &c. were either wholly neglected or put at the end of the book, not without some pious ejaculation or doxology.

10. THE date was likewise omitted or involv'd in some cramp't circumstantial period, or else printed either at full length, or by numerical letters, and sometimes partly one and partly the other, thus; *one thousand CCCC* and *sixty*, &c. but all of them at the end of the book.

11. THERE was no variety of characters, no intermixture of *Roman* and *Italick*; which were of later invention; but their pages were continued in a *Gothick* letter of the same size throughout.

12. THEIR *Rubricks* which were very frequent and added no small beauty to the pages, were sometimes done by the same hands as the initial letters.

13. WHEN-

13. WHENEVER they met with any *Greek*, they either left a blank for it, to be afterwards fill'd up by writing if the passage was long; or if short, consisting only of three or four words, they got it cut on wood, tho' after such a rude and ill-shap'd manner, that it required some pause to be read.

14. THE quotations of the places out of which they were taken, were very often neglected both in Manuscripts and printed books, which caus'd the curious no small trouble to find them out.

15. THEY had seldom dedicatory or prefatory epistles; and when they began afterwards to retail them in their impressions, they generally plac'd 'em at the end of the work; a piece of justice as much neglected, as wanting in our age.

16. THEY collected no *table of contents*, no *index* nor *summary*, (which are indubitably a great help to the reader,) nor any *errata's* at the end; for what faults were in their editions were rather owing to the manuscripts which they printed after, than to the carelessness of the Printer.

17. THEY printed but few copies at once, for 200 or 300 were then esteem'd a large impression; tho' upon the encouragements receiv'd from the learned, they increas'd their numbers in proportion.

18. LASTLY, If I may be allow'd this article, they were not solicitous to obtain *privileges* and *patents* for the sole printing of any particular volume, tho' towards the later end of *Faust's* time several of his servants set up Printing-houses, and were ambitious to excel their master: How soon after those privileges began, appears from that granted by the Emperor to *John Schoeffer*, *Faust's* grandson ann. 1519, for the sole printing *T. Livius*, and to prohibit any other to reprint those books which had come from his press: and as this had been granted upon the account of his being the grandson of the first inventor of the Art; so several Popes and Princes gave like patents to their first Printers as a mark of their favour.

I shall here mention something concerning their way of Book-binding, an account of which we find in *Scaliger*¹, who tells us, that his grandmother had a printed Psalter, the cover of which was two inches thick; in the inside was a kind of cupboard, wherein was a small silver crucifix, and behind it the name of *Berenica Codronia de la Scala*. This book seems to have been printed with wood, but probably bound like the rest.

As to the prices of their books, I cannot find any thing particular except what I have before quoted out of *Campanus's* dedication to the Pope; from which it may be infer'd, that in his time at *Rome* they were sold for about one fifth part of what the MSS. had done. To this I shall add an instance of the gift bequeath'd by *P. Schoeffer*, and *Conrad Henlif* of the same profession, to a library of monks, which will enable us to guess at the great rate they still were sold for. *La Caille* relates it out of the annals of the abby of *St. Victor* at *Paris*, and it is as follows²; „ The anniversary (office for the souls) of the honourable *Peter Schoeffer*, „ *Conr. Henlif* and *John Faust* citizens and Printers in the city of *Mentz*, „ as also for the souls of their wives, parents, children, friends and benefactors; which said *P. Schoeffer* and *C. Henlif* have given us the book „ of *St. Jerom's Epistles* printed upon vellum (in two vol. fol. ann. 1470,) „ excepting nevertheless the sum of twelve golden crowns, which the „ aforesaid Printers receiv'd from our Lord *John Abbot* of this church „ *Oct.* 29, 1471.

HENCE 'tis plain that the *twelve crowns* (which in those days were more than equivalent to as many *pounds* now) were but part of the price or value of the said book; and that the other part, whatever proportion it bore to this, was remitted to them in consideration of this anniversary office, to which there us'd to be no price fix'd, tho' the least for it was generally *five or six crowns*.

I conclude this chapter with an observation of *Monf. de la Monoye* concerning the phrase of *Libri editi*, which I hope the curious will be pleas'd with: he tells us, that this phrase was us'd before the invention of Prin-

¹ *Scaligeriana*, Hag. edit. in 8vo. p. 173.

² Anniversarium honorabilium virorum *Petri Schoeffer* & *Conradi Henlif*, ac *Joan. Faust*, civium de *Moguntia*, impressorum, necnon uxorum, filiorum, parentum, amicorum & benefactorum; qui *Petrus* & *Conradus* dederunt no-

bis *Epistolas beati Hieronymi* impressas in *Pergameno*, excepta tamen summa duodecim scutorum auri. quam præfati impressores receperunt per manus Domini *Joannis Abbatis* hujus ecclesiæ, 3 kalend. Novemb. ann. 1471. *De la Caille*, pag. 14.

ting; and signified only books publish'd and dispers'd abroad in some considerable number, in opposition to those that were writ fair to be set up in libraries, which were call'd *Libri scripti*. This observation he proves from a passage out of *Philelphus*, who speaking of his ten books of *latin odes*, expresses himself as follows; *Carminum libri editi quinque, versuum quinque millibus; nam alteri quinque qui tantundem versus complectentur, partim scripti sunt non editi, partim ne scripti quidem, i. e. five books of the latin odes are already publish'd, containing 5000 verses; the other five, which will contain the same number, are partly written not publish'd, and partly still unwritten*: he observes further, that the first five books of odes were not sent to the press 'till the year 1497, when they were printed in 4to. at *Brescia*: besides the same *Philelphus* tells his reader in one of his epistles written ann. 1453, that he design'd to publish all the ten books in that year; *Libros decem hoc anno edere institui*, which could not be understood of Printing, seeing tho' the art was perfected about this time, yet it was still kept secret 'till four years after, when *Faust* put his first colophon to the *Psalter*. Whether this observation be as certain as it is curious, I shall leave to the judgment of my readers.

C H A P. XI.

An Account of the first printed Bibles before the year 1501.

AS those authors who have wrote any thing fully upon the subject of Printing, have given their readers an account of the first Bibles, that have been printed, from the discovery of the Art to the year 1500 or even beyond: I thought our *English* readers would not be displeas'd to have a short abstract given them of those antient and valuable monuments of the art; and I can't but think it will be more acceptable to have them all in one view, than dispers'd, as they would be, were I to give them under their respective Printers, who liv'd at a vast distance of time and place from one another; especially considering that some famous cities, and even universities, as that of *Louvain*, have not printed so much as one single Bible in all the interval between the year

1450 and 1500, and even beyond; whereas others, for instance, that of *Nuremberg* has produc'd at least 13 in that time: I shall place them according to the years in which they were printed, and add such farther particulars concerning them, as I have been able to meet with in those authors, who have given us an account of them; and such as my own observations have enabled me to collect from those noble libraries I have formerly mention'd.

By this the reader will be sufficiently apprised, that I intend to speak only of those which bear any certain date; but as for those, which are either printed without date, or with a disputed one, I shall just say so much of them, as will let him see how little they are to be rely'd on, and what reasons I have to pass them by: I have, I think, already ventur'd to give the reader a rule how to judge of such works, viz. if their dates are before the year 1450, they must be suppos'd to have been wrong printed, either designedly, or by mistake: the reader will find proofs sufficient of the former in our next book, and the later is too well known to require any: however in this later respect I shall give him an instance or two of it, because it will be a kind of a key to rectify any other that may hereafter fall in his way.

We meet with an account of a *German Bible*, still kept in the library of the city of *Ausburgh*, affirm'd by *Hottinger*, who saw it there, to have been printed with fusile types ann. 1448, but with this caveat however, *ni fallor, if I am not mistaken*, as writing at some distance of time and place: other authors have given it that of 1449, but as either of them preceded the time of the invention, *Malinkrot* tells us, that *Martin Zeiler* thought it 'twas only a manuscript version made ann. 1449: but Mr. *Beugben* doth not scruple to tell us in the preliminary discourse to his *Incunabula Typographiæ*, that they only misplac'd the two last figures of the date, and printed 1449 instead of 1494. *Chevillier* mentions two more out of *Lipenius*, whose dates are demonstrably false, the one is a Bible printed at *Paris* ann. 1443, and the other at *Lyons* ann. 1446: whereas it is certain, that Printing was not brought to *Paris* 'till twenty seven years after the date of the first, viz. ann. 1470, nor to *Lyons* 'till six or seven years after that: the same may be said of another printed at *Basil*, and affirm'd, by two bookfellers of *Geneva* in the catalogue of their books, to bear date

1459, since 'tis plain that that city did not receive the Art 'till about 1475: if the reader therefore will take this rule with him, to examine the time in which the Art was brought to any place, which he will find in the following Book, he will easily rectify any wrong date that may come in his way, and as for those, which do not mention the place or Printer's name, he may safely rank them amongst the apocryphal ones, and them which have no date at all, but as the former have been taken notice of by all our annalists, I shall be obliged so far as I am able to ascertain their respective dates, as we go along.

1. BEFORE I come to speak of those, which bear a certain and indisputable date, I must not omit the *first* printed by *Faust* and *Schoeffer* about 1450 or soon after, and mention'd by *Trithemius*, the *Colognian Chronicle*, and some other authors, as the first considerable work printed with fusile types by those two *Protodædali*. I have already given the reasons of its being printed without date or colophon, which would have betrayed the discovery of their new Art, and prevented *Faust's* selling it for MS: but this however ought by no means to hinder us from giving it the first rank, seeing the fact is so undeniably attested. It is pity they have been long ago, either destroy'd, or buried in some private libraries, where the most diligent searches have not as yet been able to find them out: perhaps its being printed so like MS, may be one reason why they are still lookt upon as such by the owners, if any such there be; for which reason I am still willing to hope, that time may discover and bring some of them to light, and that what has been said in this history, and by authors of a much higher character, will spur up some curious persons to make a more diligent search after so valuable a monument; 'till when, no farther account can be expected of it than what we have already given.

2. THE next is that, which I have ventur'd, after other authors, to call the second impression of the Bible, printed at *Mentz* by the same worthy inventors *ann.* 1462, and which is consequently the most antient we know extant in any library; we have already given some account of it in a former chapter *p.* 31, and of the colophon printed at the end of it, which we need not therefore repeat here: as there are several copies of it here in *London* where I have seen them, and elsewhere in *England*, we need not

go to any foreign authors for an account of it: it is printed in *fol.* as indeed all their other works were. For tho' I have follow'd *Peter Lambeck's* notion of the *Psalters* being printed in *4to*, because its size may be very much like that of a *quarto*, yet if I may here venture to give my judgment of a book I have not seen, I think I have sufficient grounds to believe that the first Printers had their paper made of all sizes; and that the five books printed on Blocks of Wood, already mention'd to be in the Earl of *Pembroke's* library, would appear to any one like *quarto's*, were it not that the signatures shew the contrary.

THE next impression we meet with, is one which *Mr. Mattaire* gives us upon the authority of a learned friend of his, who desires to have his name conceal'd, and the want of whose date is supply'd by a colophon of three *latin* verses importing, that it was printed in the *third* year of *Lewis XI.* reign, *i. e.* ann. 1464 by the three *German* partners, who brought the Art to *Paris*, tho' there be no mention made of the place where it was printed, vid. *Annal. Typogr.* p. 41, and 60. I am persuaded that *Mr. Mattaire's* friend was mistaken in the first verse, and I should not have given it a rank here, nor even mention'd it, were it not to prevent the reader's being puzzled with this account of it under the year 1464; or his supposing me guilty of an omission: but as *Chevillier* gives us the same colophon printed at the end of the first *Paris* Bible by the same three partners, with this variation however from the former; that in the first verse, instead of *Semi lustrum*, it has *tribus lustris*, that is instead of the *third*, it imports the *thirteenth* year of that king's reign: we may easily suppose, that it was the first *Paris* Bible of 1475, and that this unknown gentleman might possibly be mistaken: however the book being in *Queen's-college* library, in *Cambridge* it may be easily consulted.

3. The next impression therefore to that of *Mentz* 1462, is that of *Ausburgh*, [in *latin* *Augusta Vindelicorum*] printed by *John Bemler* ann. 1466 in *latin fol.* It is mention'd by *Martin Crusius*, *Melchior Adamus*, and after them by *Malinkrot*; *Chevillier* seems indeed to think their testimony insufficient to ascertain so old a date, but I cannot see any reason for it, seeing it is four years more recent than the taking of the city of *Mentz*, and the dispersion of *Faust's* servants; besides the city of *Ausburgh* was so near *Mentz*, and so considerable withal, that it is no way improbable, but

but some one of them might go and settle there even sooner than the year 1466.

4. The *latin Bible fol.* printed at *Reutlingen* [*Reutlingæ*] a small town in Germany in the dutchy of *Wirttemberg* ann. 1469, mention'd by *Hallewardius*, *Father le Long*, *De la Caillé*, *Chevillier* and others; but more particularly by *John Saubert* in his catalogue of the *Norican* or *Nuremberg* library, where he saw it: the Printer of it was *John de Averbach*, we have nothing else extant of him at least with his name.

5. The *latin Bible fol.* printed about 1471 *Mar. 15.* at *Rome* by *Conrard Sweynbeym* and *Arnold Pannartz* [or *Panaratz* as I have seen it printed in one of their books] who were the first Printers that settled in that city: it has a preface, and at the end four *latin* distichs in praise of those two Germans, and a small work or history of *Aristeas*, and is translated by *Matthias Palmerius*: the Printers tell *Pope Sextus IV.* in the lists which they gave him of their works, that they had printed 575 copies of it: concerning this Bible *Spondæus* gives us the following account, *we have*, says he, *the Bible printed at Rome in two very large volumes* [*ingentibus voluminibus*] ann. 1471 *in the house of the Maximis* by two Germans named *Conrard Sweynheym* and *Arnold Pannartz*.

6. The *Italian Bible* translated by *Nicholaus Malherbis* (in Italian *Malhermi*) a *Venetian* abbot of the order of the *Calmaldules*, printed at *Venice* ann. 1471 *Calend. Aug.* in *fol.* by *Vindelin de Spire*, who with his brother *John*, was the first who brought the Art of Printing unto that city. *Chevillier* tells us, he has seen it in the library of the *Mazarine-college* at *Paris* in two volumes, and that tho' the *imprimatur* doth not mention the Printer, yet it is easy to guess at him by the *Italian verses*, which *Squazafica* has put to that edition.

7. *Mr. Mattaire* mentions another *fol. Italian Bible* printed in the same year 1571, of *Malhermi's* translation, without Printer or places name. *Father le Long* is the author he has taken it from.

8. The *latin Bible* reprinted at *Mentz* by *Peter Schoeffer* ann. 1472, on the eve of *St. Matthias* the apostle *fol.* the learned *Walton* (editor of our *English* edition of the *Polyglot*) thought this the first impression of the Bible, and seem'd doubtful of what some authors had affirm'd, that they had seen some more antient editions than that; how much he was mistaken the

the reader may judge by the foregoing ones: this Bible has a colophon at the end, not unlike those us'd by his master and himself, in the former edition and some other of their works.

9. Mr. *Mattaire* (after Father *le Long*,) mentions a *latin* impression ann. 1473 without Printer or places name. *Annal. Typogr.* p. 100.

10. The *latin* Bible fol. printed at *Paris* by *Ulric Gering*, *Martin Grantz*, and *Michael Friburger*, the first who set up a press in that city. This Bible, which *Chevillier* has seen in the library of the *Celestin* monks, and has given us the colophon of; importing its being printed in the 13th year of *Lewis XI.* reign, *i. e.* ann. 1475, is the same which we suppose Mr. *Mattaire's* friend did inform him to have been printed in the 3d year of that monarch, *i. e.* ann. 1464: we need not therefore repeat here, what we said just before under that head; Mr. *Mattaire* however places this under the year 1476.

11. The *latin* Bible printed at *Nuremberg* in the same year 1475 in fol. by *Anthony Koburger* or *Coburger* first Printer of that city; in which library *J. Saubert* tells us, they have a copy still extant, we have another in the publick library at *Oxford*.

12. Another *latin* Bible without Printer or places name, printed also ann. 1475. fol. *Mattaire* p. 110.

13. The Bible in *Italian* printed by *James de Rubeis*, alias *des Rouges*, at *Pignerol* in *Piedmont*, ann. 1475, fol. *idem*.

14. ——— in *latin quarto*, printed at *Placentia* by *John de Ferratis Cremonese* ann. 1475.

15. ——— in *low dutch*, fol. at *Cologne* ann. 1475, without Printer's name, *idem*.

16. ——— in *latin* printed in fol. ann. 1476 at *Venice*, by *Nicholas Jenson* in *Gothick* character, a copy of which is still to be seen in the library of the *Celestin* monks at *Paris*.

17. ——— printed at *Venice* by *Francis Hailbrun* and *Nicholas de Frankford* partners, ann. 1476 fol. *Chevillier* seems doubtful, whether this and the last are not the same edition under different partners names; but Mr. *Mattaire* and father *Orlandi* give them as two different editions.

18. The

18. The Bible in *latin* with canons and concordances *fol.* printed at *Nu-*
rembergh by *Anthony Koburger ann. 1476.* *Orlandi* is the
first author that has mention'd it: but doth not tell us
where he saw it or how he came by the knowledge of it.
19. ——— *ead.* printed at *Naples, ann. 1476, fol.* by *Matthias Mo-*
ravus de Olomuntz; the colophon of which has some
lines in commendation of the Printer.
20. ——— *ead.* printed at *Nurembergh* by *Anthony Koburger ann.*
1477, fol. it has the arguments and references like
that printed by the same Printer *ann. 1476.*
21. ——— *ead. fol.* printed by *Bernard Richel* citizen of *Basil, ann.*
1477, without places name.
22. ——— in *Italian* by *Malbermi fol.* printed at *Venice* by *Anthony*
de Bononia, ann. 1477.
23. ——— *ead.* printed at *Venice* by *Gabriel de Piero, a native of*
Trevifo, ann. 1477, fol.
24. ——— in *high dutch, fol.* by *Anthony Sorgius* at *Ausburgh, 1477.*
25. ——— *ead. 1477, without Printers name.*
26. ——— in *low dutch, fol.* at *Delph 1477.*
27. ——— *ead. in quarto, 1477.*
28. ——— in *latin* with *Gothick* character, *fol.* at *Venice* by *Leonard*
Wild for *Francis de Hailbrun* and *Nicholas de Franck-*
ford, 1478.
29. ——— *ead. in Gothic, fol.* by *Theodoric de Reynsberg* and *Reynald*
de Novimagio, fol. 1478.
30. ——— *ead.* with the arguments and references of *Menardus Mo-*
nachus, fol. printed at *Nurembergh* by *Anthony Coburger,*
1478.
31. ——— *ead. in Gothic fol.* at *Venice* by *Nic. Jenson, 1479.*
32. ——— *ead.* with arguments and concordance *fol.* by *Anthony*
Coburger at *Nurembergh, 1479.*
33. ——— *ead. fol.* at *Lyons* by *Perrin de Lathomi de Lotharingis,*
1479.
34. ——— *ead. fol.* without Printer's name at *Cologne 1479.*
35. ——— in *low dutch, fol.* at *Goude in Holland* by *Gerard Leen,*
1479.

36. The Bible in *latin* with the apostils of *Nic. de Lyra*, fol. by *John de Cologn* and *John Manthen*, 1480; the place is not mention'd, but these two printed at *Venice* from 1471 to 1481, if not beyond. *Orland*.
37. ——— ead. quarto at *Venice* for *Octavian Scot*, 1480. by *Francis Halibrun*.
38. ——— in *Highb Dutch* at *Ausburgh*, 2 vol. fol. by *Ant. Sergius* citizen of it, 1480.
39. ——— in *Latin* fol. by *Anthony Coburger*, at *Nuremberg* 1480.
40. ——— ead. with summaries and references fol. by *John Zeiner* of *Reutlingen* at *Ulms*, 1480.
41. ——— ead. with apostils of *N. de Lyra* 7 vol. fol. *Cologn*, 1480 without printers name.
42. ——— ead. with *Gothic* character, by *Leonard Wild* of *Ratisbon*, fol. at *Venice* 1481.
43. ——— ead. with postills of *N. de Lyra* by *John de Cologn*, *Nic. Jensen*, and partners fol. 1481; no place nam'd, but they printed at *Venice*.
44. ——— ead. in fol. by *Conrard Lentorius* at *Nurembergh*, 1481.
45. ——— in *Italian*, by *Malermi* fol. printed at *Venice* for *Octavian Scot*, 1481.
46. ——— in *latin quarto* at *Venice* by *Francis Renner de Hailbrun*, 1482.
47. ——— ead. by *Reynhard* of *Strasburg*, and *Nichol. Philipi de Gernsheym* fol. at *Strasburg* [*Argentoratum*] 1482.
48. ——— by *Ant. Coburger* at *Nuremberg*, 1483.
49. ——— in quarto by *Francis Renner de Hailbrun* at *Venice*, 1483.
50. ——— in fol. by *John*, surnam'd the Great, *Herbort*, German at *Venice*, 1483.
51. ——— in *highb dutch* by *Ant. Coburger* at *Nuremberg*, 1483.
52. ——— ead. in fol. at *Ausburg* 1483 without printers name.
53. ——— in *latin* fol. by *John Zainer de Reutlingen*. *Ausburg* 1484.
54. ——— ead. by *Ant. Coburger* fol. at *Nuremberg*, 1484.
55. ——— ead. in quarto by *John*, surnam'd the Great, *Herbort* of *Selgenstat* at *Venice*, 1484.

56. The Bible in *Latin fol.* at Nuremberg without Printer's name 1484.
57. ——— in *Italian fol.* at Venice by *Andrea de Pattasichis de Catharo*, 1484.
58. ——— in *high Dutch* at Lubeck by *Stephen Arnold*, 1484.
59. ——— ead. at Stratzburg no printers name, 1485.
60. ——— in *Latin* at Antwerp fol. by *Nicholas Kester*, 1487.
61. ——— ead. in quarto Venice 1487, without Printer's name.
62. ——— ead. in fol. Basil, 1487, id.
63. ——— ead. in fol. with *Lyra's* apostils, 5 vol. fol. no Printer's name but known to be printed by *Ant. Coburger*, Nuremberg, 1487.
64. ——— in *French fol.* by *Antony Verard*, Paris, 1487.
65. ——— in *high Dutch fol.* Ausburg 1487. no Printer's name.
66. ——— in *Hebrew* with points, fol. by *Abraham Ben Rabb. Hbajim* at Soncino, 1488.
67. ——— in *Latin, fol.* at Venice for *Ostavian Scot*, 1489.
68. ——— ead. in *Gothic* character, fol. revis'd by *Stephen Parisetti* and printed by *James Malieti*, no place's name, 1490.
69. ——— in *high Dutch*, 4to, Ausburgh, 1490, no Printer's name.
70. ——— ead. 4to, at Nurembergh, 1490; no Printer's name, but suppos'd to be printed by *A. Coburger*.
71. ——— in *Latin, fol.* at Venice by *Simon de Gara*, 1491.
72. ——— ead. at Basil, 4to, 1491; no Printer's name.
73. ——— ead. at Venice, 4to, 1491, id.
74. ——— ead. at Basil by *John Froben*, 8vo, in a small letter, 1491.
75. ——— ead. with *Lyra's* apostils, 4 vol. fol. Stratzburg, 1492.
76. ——— ead. cum glossa ordinaria vol. 6. fol. Nurembergh by *Anthony Coburger*, 1493.
77. ——— in *high Dutch* by *Stephen Arndes*, fol. at Lubeck, 1493.
78. ——— ead. *Gothic* character, 4to, at Venice, by *Fr. Renner de Hailbrun*, 1494.
79. ——— in *Italian, folio*, by *John Rosso*, 1494; Venice.
80. ——— in *Latin* 4to, at Venice by *Simon Bevilacqua* citizen of *Pavia*, 1494.
81. ——— in *Hebrew*, 8vo, by *Gerson Ben Moses* of Soncino at Brixia, 1494

82. The Bible in *Hebrew*, 4to and 8vo, at *Pisauero*, 1494; without Printer's name.
83. ——— in *Latin* by *Matthæw Hus German*, fol. 1494; no place's name, but we find him printing at *Lyons* three years before this.
84. ——— in *high Dutch* 4to, at *Ausburg*, 1494; no Printer's name.
85. ——— in *Latin* with *Ord. Gloss.* and *Lyra's* apostils, fol. by *Paganino de Paganinis*, 1495.
86. ——— ead. *Gothic* character, by *John Froben de Hamelburgh*, 8vo *Basil* 1495.
87. ——— ead. 4to, by *Jacob* and *Angelus Britians* at *Brescia*, 1496.
88. ——— ead. with *Ord. Gloss.* and *de Lyra's* apostils, 6 vol. fol. at *Nuremberg*, 1496; by *Ant. Coburger*.
89. ——— ead. corrected by *Angelus de Monte Ulmi* 8vo, printed by *Jerom de Paganinis* at *Venice*, 1497.
90. ——— ead. in *Gothic* character with summaries, &c. by *Franc. Fradin* and *John Pivard* 4to, 1497; no place's name.
91. ——— ead. fol. at *Cologne* 1497; without Printer's name.
92. ——— ead. at *Strasburgh*, ditto.
93. ——— ead. with *Lyra's* apostils 6 vol. fol. *Basil* 1498; no Printer's name.
94. ——— ead. by *Simon Bevilaqua* 4to, *Venice* 1498.
95. ——— ead. 4to, by *John Pivard* 1500; no places name.
96. ——— ead. by *Simon Vostre*, fol. *Paris* 1500.
97. ——— ead. fol. at *Nuremberg* 1500; no Printer's name.
98. ——— ead. by *John Froben*, *Basil* 1500.
99. ——— ead. 8vo, *Lyons* 1500.

I have purposely omitted some less considerable ones, which are either without Printer or places name, or both; because such were only the wretched performances of a few, who made it their business to reprint the editions of some of the most famous Printers of *Europe*, whether of the Bible, or of any other considerable work; and to vend them underhand for the right ones: this was an abuse which began very early to be complain'd of; for no sooner had a *Froben*, *Badius*, *Aldus* or any other great

great Printer publish'd a work, which had cost him infinite pains to correct, as well as great sums of money to purchase the best manuscripts, but they pyrated them in such a shameful and incorrect manner, that they could afford to sell them for less than half the price. And as there wanted not sordid persons to encourage this vile practice, and to prefer those maim'd performances to the more correct ones, if they could but save money by them; it often prov'd that the sale of a valuable edition was hinder'd, to the great loss and discouragement of the Printer, whilst the bad ones went off with ease: this occasion'd them to complain of the abuse, in their prefaces to their works, and to appeal to the learned against such practices; some of whom (in particular *Erasmus*) did not fail to write very sharply against those enemies to learning, who were at length come up to such a degree of impudence, as to counterfeit the names, marks and rebus's of the famous Printers, of which we shall have occasion to give an account hereafter. In the mean time, all their complaints and efforts proving ineffectual towards the suppressing such pyracies; they were forc'd to have recourse to the higher powers, and to employ the assistance of their learned patrons, to obtain them patents and privileges for the sole printing of those works, upon which they had bestow'd so much pains and cost: but this more properly belongs to the next book to which I am now hastening.





B O O K II.

The History of the Dispersion, Progress and Improvements of PRINTING, from 1462 to 1520.

The INTRODUCTION.



U^NTHERTO we have seen the *Art of Printing* kept with the utmost secrecy by its inventors, and confin'd to the city of *Mentz*, till the fatal year of its being taken plunder'd and depriv'd of all its former rights and franchises, as we have hinted already: which occasion'd the dispersion of the greatest part of *Faust's* servants, whom we must suppose by that time to have been very numerous: these seeing the deplorable condition to which that noble city was reduc'd, and the difficulty of carrying on the business any longer with that freedom and encouragement they had till then enjoy'd; and being perhaps inclin'd enough of themselves to leave their masters, to go settle in some of the most famous cities of *Europe*, where they were sure to gain, not only wealth and honour, but the friendship of the learned, immediately dispersed themselves and settled, some in the neighbouring cities of *Cologne* and *Ausburgh*, others went to *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, &c. where

where they soon met with all the encouragement they could wish: this happen'd, as we have hinted in the former book in the year 1462. So that *Faust* and *Schoeffer*, had happily conceal'd the art from the rest of the world, at least the space of *twelve* years from the time of its being perfected: we must, however, except one of his servants viz. *Nic. Jenson*, who if the date of his first book be true and genuine, must have given his master the slip before that fatal period, since we find this book finish'd at *Venice* an. 1461 with great advantage and improvement; we shall have occasion to enquire further into this man and his work, in the sequel of this book: however, if we except this one single work, we don't find any footsteps of the infant art, being carry'd out of its nurse's arms during those twelve years.

BUT now we must consider it in a different view, dispersing it self over divers nations, patroniz'd by Popes and Kings, and esteem'd a divine blessing to mankind. It seems now to have left the city of *Mentz*, where it yet shines there brighter than ever; and at the same instant discovers it self at *Rome*, *Venice*, *Oxford* and *Paris*; and in a space shorter than can be imagin'd, becomes conspicuous over all *Europe*.

As there is so great a number and variety of events and remarkable occurrences, which happen'd in several cities of *Europe*, at the same time, or immediately after one another, with respect to the first printers who settled there, the improvements made by them, and the encouragement they receiv'd; it will be absolutely impossible to dispose them in such an order, as may give the reader at once a full view of them all, without interrupting the series, either with respect to time or place. Thus, for instance, while we shew the transactions at *Rome*, during the *two* or *three* first years, *Venice*, *Paris*, *Oxford*, *Cologne*, *Milan*, &c. will open new scenes to our view, attracting our eyes towards them, and oblige us to break the thread of one to begin with that of another; which continual diversions would rather confound than instruct the reader, and render the history confus'd and tedious. Our best annalists and historians being sensible of this, have follow'd a better method. Father *Orlandi* in particular, the latest that has wrote upon this subject, hath taken that of *De la Caille*; who proceeds with every city by it self, from the time it is suppos'd to have receiv'd the art, to the end of the century, according to their fairest claim to priority in point of time; and then goes on with
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the next in order. This method I have chose, and given under the head of each city the names, character and merit, of each printer that has wrought there, from the time of its receiving the art to the end of the year 1500; and pointed out the excellencies of those who have been eminent in this art, either by the beauty of their types, the elegance and correctness of their works, the number of their editions, or any improvements which they made. By this means, I hope the reader will clearly see the early progress of printing in every place; if not at one view, yet at least in such an order as more easily to form an idea, not only of the printers and cities wherein they resided, but likewise of the most considerable patrons for wealth, learning, &c. of that time, to whose character and merit, I have not failed to do justice throughout this whole work.

I propos'd at first to have clos'd this history with the fifteenth century; but when I came to consider that the most eminent printers, to whom we owe many important improvements of this art, such as *Aldus at Venice*, *Amerbach and Froben at Basil*, *Badius at Lyons and Paris*, with many others, did not begin to appear upon this stage, till almost the close of it; and that their merit was not discover'd till the beginning of the next; I thought it an unpardonable injustice to them and my readers, to curtail their history by too scrupulously adhering to my propos'd epocha; and therefore have chosen to continue this history *twenty* years longer, *i. e.* to 1520; and sometimes made an excursion beyond that time, when ever any of those excellent masters have outliv'd it. This has afforded me another agreeable opportunity, *viz.* of mentioning some others who did not enter the province of printing till after the fifteenth century.

ANOTHER motive which induc'd me to continue this history 20 years longer, was, that I found all the improvements that had been made to the art, were made by that time *i. e.* by the year 1520 at least; the foundation of them was so far lay'd before that year, that whatever has been done since, either with relation to the beauty of letter, elegance of impression, variety of types, printing in different languages, especially in the eastern ones, in different columns, correctness and the like, all these and many more, had already been carry'd on to such a perfection before this time, that it admitted but of small improvements to be made to it afterwards. I have therefore thought it a much better period to close
this

The INTRODUCTION.

III

this history with, than that of 1500 where *Orlandi* concludes his; this has given me an opportunity of mentioning not only the improvements themselves, but likewise those glorious printers to whom we owe them. However, as it would swell this book too much to insert the names of all the printers, that appear'd within those 20 years, they being too numerous, and a great many of them, deserving rather to be remember'd with shame than honour: I have resolv'd to speak only of those who signaliz'd themselves, either for some improvements they made to the art, the beauty and correctness of their editions, or any other merit they have been conspicuous for: it is for that reason I have chosen to speak of them in a chapter by it self, after I have clos'd the 15th century, to which I shall also add in another chapter, an account of the abuses which crept into the art from its promulgation to 1520, that there may be nothing wanting to make this history as compleat and instructing as possible.

It will be necessary to acquaint the reader that tho' we have follow'd the method of the best annalists, in settling the priority of every city, according to the date of the oldest extant work, that was printed there, which is certainly the surest way and least liable to mistakes; yet it is more than probable that they might receive the art much sooner: seeing some time must reasonably be allow'd for setting up a printing-house, and furnishing it with the necessary apparatus, which in the infancy of the art was more difficult to procure, for want of proper workmen acquainted with all the branches of such a tedious work, for which less than a year or two could scarce suffice: and because we are not absolutely sure that those editions, which we give for their first, were really so: Mr. *Mattaire*, who has taken such pains to search the best libraries of *London*, *Oxford*, *Paris*, &c. for those old monuments, that he thought he had exhausted that subject, has nevertheless post dated the claim and rank of several cities by some years; if *Orlandi* may be credited, who afterwards rectify'd them by the discovery of some older editions; and who can tell what time may produce, that may wholly invert our present order: thus for instance some of the historians quoted in the last book, tell us that *Strasburgh*, *Cologne*, *Francford*, &c. receiv'd the art before any others; yet as we have none of their works extant, but such as were printed some years after,

after, we have been oblig'd to give them a lower rank, and place them after *Rome, Paris, Venice, &c.* The reader may easily remember that *Guttenbergh* left *Mentz*, and settled at *Strasburgh* some years before the taking of the former, *i. e.* before *ann. 1462*; and that he taught *John Mentel* the Art in the latter: yet we meet with no edition done there of older date than *1471*, *viz.* the *Decretum Gratiani* printed by *Henry Egestein*. Tho' *Cologn* receiv'd some of *Faufst's* fugitive servants soon after his rupture with *Guttenbergh*, yet the oldest edition there, as yet known, is the works of Pope *Leo I*, printed *1470*. What became of those impressions before that time, is scarce worth our enquiring, since the best of those which have been since publish'd, are far inferior to those done in *Italy, France, &c.* in beauty of character, elegancy of composition, correctness and choice of MSS to print after; while themselves proved indolent enough to neglect those improvements even after they had been made in other countries.

HOWEVER 'tis probable they might have sufficient business in printing small books of devotion, lives of saints, and legends; which, according to the taste of those times, and of that nation in particular, were eagerly bought up and thumb'd over, 'till scarce a leaf was left; while the men of learning and politeness were more curious in laying up such only as were a credit not only to the author and Printer, but to the Art it self. But however that be, I hope what I have said will sufficiently convince the reader, how cautious we should be in fixing the epocha's, and consequently the rank and claims of every city, in this respect; since we know not but the next diligent searcher may find matter enough to give this order a new turn.

I have shown in the close of the last book to what a degree of perfection the Art of Printing was advanc'd even before the year *1467*, and given there some account of that noble edition of *Nich. Jenson*, which is suppos'd to be done *ann. 1461*, with the encomium which Mr. *Mattaire*, to whom we are beholden for the first account of it, about *eight* years ago, gives to that master-piece of the Art, since which I saw it at the Earl of *Pembroke's*. What seems strange in that Printer, is, that from the time of this date *1461* to *1471*, not one of his impressions is to be met with; so that neither their beauty, nor the esteem which they merited among the curi-

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ous, have been able to preserve them, unless they are still latent in some libraries, 'till some accident brings them to light, as happen'd to the *Decor Puellarum*. 'Tis unreasonable to suppose that a man, who could, in so short a time improve the Art, to a degree equal to the best Printers of the next age, and publish'd so many excellent volumes from 1470 to 1480, should have continued idle for *nine* or *ten* years.

FOR this reason many learned persons are of opinion that the date of the book is wrong printed, and that one of the X's was either carelessly or wilfully omitted, or taken up by the balls: but Mr. *Mattaire* will by no means allow this supposition, and gives his reasons against it. But tho' I am partly of his opinion, yet there are two reasons that induce me to differ from father *Orlandi*, in allowing the preference to *Venice* before these last mention'd cities: the first is that this impression of the *Decor Puellarum*, doth not mention the place where it was done, and therefore might as well have been printed in any other place as at *Venice*; our annalists give no other reason for its being done there rather than any where else, but that *Jenson* is found, ten years after the date of it, flourishing in that city for the space of another ten years; but how to fill the chasm of the first ten is what they are at a great loss, as we shall see by and by. My second reason is that had this book been really printed at *Venice*, ann. 1461, it would have been absurd for the two *Spires*, who did not settle there till about ann. 1468, to have taken upon them in their first colophons the title of the first persons who taught the city of *Venice* the art of printing, or if they had, I doubt not but *Jenson* would have taken care to have confuted such an assumption in some of his own works, which he never did: allowing therefore the date of this work to be genuine, yet it would be too presumptive to build the claim of that city upon a book, which for ought appears was not printed there.

I have ventur'd to say so much concerning this impression, in this introduction, because of its being dated one year before the time our second book begins; so that it could not so properly be brought into the book itself, without antedating of it by that one year for the sake of one impression. Before Mr *Mattaire* gave us an account of it in his *Annal. Typogr.* most authors gave the city of *Rome* the preference, to that of *Venice* by at least 4 or 5 years; and with respect to the latter the two

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Spires

Spires were allow'd to have been the first Printers there, according to the verses that are at the end of their first works: this impression therefore, doth at most prove *Jenson* to have began to print some where, before those two brothers were settled at *Venice*. What discoveries may be made hereafter, which may perhaps invert the present order, is what I am not concern'd about at present: my business is to settle it now according to the best light I have been able to get. I hope the reader will excuse me, if the respect which I bear to those noble cities, who gave the first encouragement to this infant Art, hath made me somewhat prolix, and what he may perhaps call over curious in settling this point of precedency; for since it may be so easily settled and adjusted from authentic records, it would have been an unpardonable omission in me to have neglected it; seeing every one of those cities do still value themselves upon their rank, and have taken all possible pains to find out all the old monuments that would both support and advance their respective claims.

I know that some annalists, in order to fill up the chasm of *nine* years, have suppos'd that *Jenson* went from *Venice* to *Paris*, where he taught the Art of Printing, and set up some presses, and instructed several, who became eminent Printers. But this is improbable on many accounts; 1. Because there are none of his works done at *Paris*; 2. Because his character is much finer than any us'd in *France* by the first Printers there; 3. Because he would have met with such encouragement there, especially considering it was his native country, that there had been no occasion to return to *Venice*; lastly, because, if he had taught so many skilful workmen in the Art, of which himself was then by far the greatest master, it would have been unnecessary to send for the three partners out of *Germany*, who did not however come to that city 'till about the year 1469, that is, *six* or *seven* years after his suppos'd coming thither. To this we may add, that upon this supposition the Art must have been brought to *Paris*, several years sooner than the most authentick records, and the best writers allow, which seems as improbable; as it is difficult to assign a place where *Jenson* printed this work. From all which, allowing the date of the *Decor Puellarum*, as no place is mention'd where it

was printed, we are oblig'd for the reasons before mention'd to give the preference to *Rome*.

C H A P. I.

The City of *Mentz*, Monastery of *Subiaco*, and the City of *Ausburgh*.

§. 1. *Fault and Schoeffer continue to print at Mentz, after the Dispersion of most of their Servants, and the taking of that City.*

IF those cities which gave the earliest invitations and encouragements to the Art of Printing, do so justly merit to be recorded in their respective ranks, that of *Mentz* certainly deserves to be placed at the head of them, upon two accounts; 1. because it was the mother and inventress of it; and 2. because it still continued to promote and cherish it, after it had been reduc'd to a foreign yoke. In the first book we consider'd her in the former view, whilst she was the only one in the world, that engross'd both the Art and Artists to herself: but the conqueror's sword was the occasion of its being dispers'd through the most eminent cities of *Europe*: 'till this time the best of *Fault's* servants being tyed by an oath of secrecy, and perhaps by some more powerful engagement, had not dar'd to forsake their master; and if some few had ventur'd to break through their engagements, yet were they still so imperfectly acquainted with the Art, that they never perform'd any work that could abide the test of time, if we except *N. Jensen's*: but now as the city was depriv'd of its freedom and privileges, it abolish'd the difference between master and servant, citizen and foreigner; they began to look upon themselves as free from all former ties, and at liberty to accept of the invitations which they receiv'd from *England, Italy, France, &c.* so that in the space of very few years, there was scarce a metropolis or considerable city, where there was not one or more Printing-houses set up: several monasteries likewise began to entertain those fugitives very early, as we shall show anon; and wherever any of those workmen chanc'd to settle themselves, they did not fail of meeting

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with all the assistance and encouragement, which the most eminent men either for power or learning could give them. However as they cannot be suppos'd to have been all men of equal capacity and industry, so we need not wonder if they did not signalize themselves every where alike; but whilst one sort of them did in a short space improve the Art to a very considerable degree, others of a more sluggish nature, contented themselves with going on in their old way, and some of them even from bad to worse.

WE need not doubt but that *Faust* and *Schoeffer*, during this sad interval, were as much courted by other nations to leave *Mentz*, and betake themselves to a place of greater tranquillity, and in a more flourishing state: but their love to their native city, which had favour'd them so much in its prosperity, prevail'd upon them to continue there, and to carry on their business, as before. This is apparent from the list of their works, given in the first book; and the edition of the great *Bible* which they printed in this very year, with that of *Tully's Offices* three years after, gives ground to suppose, that the merit of this invention procur'd them some particular regard and privilege from Archbishop *Adolph*, as soon as it became known to him; which might induce them to go on with the business, as they had done formerly: however if they printed nothing between the year 1462 and 1465, (as we don't as yet find that they did) we may reasonably suppose, that the confusion in which the city then was, might obstruct it for that time, since we don't find such a length of time between any of their other works: the truth is, we have very few or no particulars concerning them, except what we have given in the first book, wherein I endeavour'd as well as I could to trace *Faust's* history to the end of his life. All that we can add concerning *Peter Schoeffer*, is, that he continued printing several considerable volumes 'till the year 1479, which he then subscrib'd with his own name, and to some of which (towards the latter end of his life) he added his coat of arms, which might in all probability have been given to him either by the Archbishop or some crown'd head: accordingly we find these words added to his colophons, *Suis consignando scutis*, that they were mark'd with his own arms. He left a son *John Schoeffer*, who became likewise an excellent Printer at *Mentz*; but he must in all likelihood have been very young

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young when his father dy'd, seeing we find nothing printed by him 'till ann. 1503, when he acquainted his readers in the colophons to his first impressions, that he was the son of *Peter Schoeffer* and grandson to *J. Faust, &c.* the first inventors of the Art; and that himself was an excellent master of it, and an eminent citizen (*primarius civis*) of the metropolis of *Mentz*, but as this is beyond my propos'd epocha, I shall say no more of him.

I don't find any other Printer in the city of *Mentz*, during *Peter Schoeffer's* life: about 1480, we meet with one single work of no great consequence done there by one *Erhard Rewick*, and between the year 1470 and 1500, there are about fifteen impressions printed there without any Printer's name; and therefore are suppos'd to have been done by some of *Faust's* servants, who dared not put their names to them, whilst *Schoeffer* and his son liv'd.

Tho' I do not design to swell the following book with a list of the works done in every city, it having been done by the indefatigable Mr. *Mattaire* and father *Orlandi*, but only to give my readers an account of the most eminent Printers, that have signaliz'd themselves in any of them, with the names and dates of the less considerable ones; yet I hope the reader will forgive me, if my respect for *P. Schoeffer*, whose works are so much valued by the curious, as well for their antiquity, as for their elegance, correctness, and those ornaments, which he still caus'd the illuminators to bestow on them to the last, induces me to subjoin a list of them; they are as follows, with their colophons.

1. The edition of *Tho. Aquinas's Secunda secundæ*, printed in fol. ann. 1467, with an inscription at the end to this purpose¹; „ This noble „ work intitl'd *Secunda secundæ* was finish'd in the famous city of *Mentz*, „ in *Germany* (which nation the divine goodness hath vouchsaf'd to signalize with superior gifts to all other nations of the earth,) by a new „ invented Art of Printing, &c. without the help of any writing instrument, &c. for the service of God, by *Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim*,

¹ Hoc opus præclarum *Secunda secunda* alma in Urbe *Moguntina* inclitæ nationis *Germanicæ*, quam Dei clementia alti ingenii lumine donoque gratuito cæteris terrarum nationibus præferre illustrareque dignatus est, artificiosa quadam adinventione imprimendi seu charac-

terizandi absque ulla calami exaratione sic effigiatum, & ad eusebiam Dei industria est consummatum per *Petrum Schoeffer de Gernsheim*. Anno Domini MCCCC LXVII. Die sexto mensis *Martii*.

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1. *ann. Dom. 1467*, on the *sixth* day of *March*. „ In this he hath alter'd one letter of his surname, *viz.* the first *e* into an *i*, in the next he chang'd the *i* into a *y*, according to Mr. *Mattaire's* list; who likewise justly censures his *latin syntax* in writing *Dei clementia dignatus est*; tho' this hinders not his being a correct Printer, as well as tolerable good clerk for those times.

2. THE next is the *Institutiones Juris Imper. Justinian. cum Glossa*, in *fol. ann. 1468*. The colophon is much to the same purpose with the former, in which he is very liberal of his incense to *Mentz* and the whole *German nation*. It is superfluous to give a translation of it; but the original may be seen in the margin¹; tho' *Schoeffer's* inscriptions in the following impressions are somewhat shorter, yet we shall likewise take the liberty of abridging them to avoid repetition.

3. *St Jerom's Epistles* with an introduction in 2 *vol. fol.* printed upon vellum *ann. 1470*. In this he styles himself that famous person *Peter Schoeffer*², the colophon of it has been given in another place; and this is the book, part of the price of which, as we said before, was remitted by him to the monks of *St Victor*, in order to procure their prayers for *Faust* and himself. Cardinal *Briffonet*, abbot of *St Germain* in the fields near *Paris*, gave another copy of it to the library of that monastery; and a third was presented by *Arthur de Montauban* archbishop of *Bordeaux* to the library of the *Celestins* at *Paris*, of which order he had been formerly. These are all still extant in the libraries abovemention'd.

4. *VALERII MAXIMI dictorum factorumque memorabilium libri X.* in *fol. ann. 1471*, in the noble city of *Mentz* upon the *Rhine* by *Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim*, master of the Art of Printing³.

¹ *Præsens Institutionum præclarum opus alma in urbe Moguntina inclitæ nationis Germanicæ; quam Dei clementia tam alti ingenii lumine donoque gratuito cæteris orbis nationibus præferre illustrareque dignatus est; non atramento omni, non plumali canna neque ærea, sed artificiosa quadam ad inventionem imprimendi seu characterizandi sic effigiatum, & ad eusebiam Dei industrie est consummatum per Petrum Schoeffer de Gernsheim, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCCCC LXVIII. 24 die Mensis Maii.*

² *Epistolare beati Ieronymi cum introducto-*

rio per virum famatum in hac Arte Petrum Schoeffer, &c. At the end of the introduction are these two verses address'd to the Saint;

*Nunc memoris memor esto tui, Ieronyme, sancte,
Ne pereat, Christo veniam pro crimine dante.*

At the end of the book are the six verses quoted before at *pag. 33*, which begin thus;

Fam decet ut nostris concordent, &c.

³ *In nobili urbe Moguntina Rheni — per Petrum Schoeffer de Gernsheim artis impressorie magistrum, viii Cal. Jul.*

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5. THE *Latin bible* reprinted ann. 1472 by *Peter Schoeffer* with the same colophon as the former *Bible* of 1462. It was finish'd on the eve of St. *Matthew* the apostle.

6. THE *Corpus Canonicum* without the Printer's name, ann. 1472, fol.

THE *Catholicon* reprinted ann. 1472 with the same colophon as the former; and finish'd on St. *Matthew's* eve. These three last being finish'd about the same time, show that *Schoeffer* had already more than one press at work.

7. ST. *Austin's* book *De civitate Dei* in fol. with the commentaries of *Thomas de Valois* and *Nicholas Thevet*, printed ann. 1473, at the end whereof are the following words in latin, ' viz. , This most excellent work of , the city of God written by *Aurelius Augustine*, the bright star of the orthodox city, with the commentaries of two learned professors of divinity, distinguish'd with rubricks and a table of contents, was with great labour finish'd in the famous city of *Mentz* in *Germany*, not with a writing instrument, but by an artificial disposition of the figures of letters, to the glory of the undivided trinity, and by the aid of the city of God, by *Peter Schoeffer de Gernsheim*, on the fifth day of September, 1473.

8. HENRICI HARP or *Harpian*. Ord. Min. Fr. *Speculum aureum decem præceptorum Dei*, by *Peter Schoeffer*, &c. in fol. The colophon is almost the same with that of the *Secunda* of *Tho. Aquinas*. It was finish'd on the fourth of the ides of September ann. 1474.

9. S. BERNARDI *Clarevallensis Abbatis sermones*, fol. ann. 1475². Here *Schoeffer* began to put his mark, rebus, or coat of arms to his impressions.

10. JUSTINIANI *Institutiones cum notis Accursii*, fol. ann. 1476, *Schoeffer* dedicated this work to Pope *Sixtus IV*, to the Emperor *Frederic*, and to the Archbishop of *Mentz*³.

¹ Igitur *Aurelii Augustini*, civitatis orthodoxæ fideris præfulgidi, de civitate Dei opus præclarissimum, binis sacræ paginæ professoribus eximiis id commentantibus, rubricis tabulaque discretum, celsa in urbe *Moguntina* partium *Alcmanie*, non calami per phrasim, characterum autem apicibus artificiose elementatum, ad laudem *Trinitatis* individue, civitatis Dei præsidio, operose est consummatum per Pe-

trum *Schoeffer de Gernsheim* diē V mensis September CLOCCCCLXXIII.

² In nobili urbe *Moguntina* *Petrus Schoeffer de Gernsheim* suis consignando scutis consummavit, die xiv April. MCCCCLXXV.

³ Sanctiss. in Christo P. ac Dom. D. Sixto Pap. IV. invictissimo Dom. D. *Frederico* Roman. Imperat. semper *August* generoso Dom. *Diesbero de Isenburg* electo & confirmato Mo-

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11. *DECISIONES Rotæ Romanæ*, in fol. ann. 1477. The original of the colophon may be seen in the margin¹.

12. *JOHAN. de Turre-cremata ord. prædic. Card. exposition of the psalms*, in fol. by *Peter Schoiffer* at *Mentz*, 1478.

13. *PAUL. de S. Maria Bishop of Burgos's Scrutinium scripturarum*, fol. ann. 1478. This work is inscrib'd to the same Archbishop of *Mentz*².

14. THE book of *Decretals* in fol. at *Mentz* by *P. Schoiffer*, 1479.

THIS is the last book that is known to have been printed by him, who is therefore suppos'd to have dy'd about this time.

WE have now done with the city of *Mentz*; whose fame in this respect seems to have been intirely confin'd to *Faust's* family, and that no further than to his grandson *John Schoeffer*; seeing nothing considerable was ever printed there by any other person, except the travels of *Bernard Bredembach* Dean of *Mentz*, into the *Holy-land* ann. 1486, by one *Erhard Rewick* a native of *Utrecht*, whom we have just mention'd. 'Tis now time to come to those places, which show'd the earliest specimens of this Art; and to give the best account we have of them.

§. 2. *The MONASTERY of SUBIACO.*

THE next place, that we know of, which signaliz'd it self in the Art of Printing, is the monastery of *Subiaco*, in latin *Monasterium Sublacense*, in the territories of *Campania*, in the kingdom of *Naples*, and subject to the Pope; the monks of which are of the *Benedictin* order, and very rich, having the lordship of no less than fourteen castles. Here the Art was introduc'd so soon, that in the year 1465, there was publish'd an edition of *Laëtantius's Institutions* in fol. so correct and elegant, and in such a beautiful *Roman* character, that nothing seems wanting but the

guntino in nobili urbe Moguntia Rheni impressoriae artis inventrice climatriceque prima, præfens Institutionum opus præclarum Pet. Schoeffer de Gernsheim suis consignando scutis, omnipotente favente Deo, consummavit. 10 kal. Jun. MCCCC LXXVI.

¹ Gravi labore, maximisque impensis, *Romanam* post impressionem, opus iterum emendatum antiquarum novarumque decisionum suis cum additionibus Dominorum de *Rota*, in

civitate Moguntia artis impressoriae inventrice & climatrice prima, Petrus Schoeffer de Gernsheim suis consignando scutis a te magistra feliciter finivit, prid. Non Jan. MCCCCCLXXVII.

² R in Christo Pat. D. D. Diethero Archiepiscopo Moguntino, in nobili civitate Moguntia, domicilio Minerva firmissimo, Petrus Schoeffer de Gernsheim arte magistra suis consignando scutis feliciter finivit, ad VII Idus Januarias. MCCCCCLXXVIII.

name

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name of the Printer. What is still more surprizing is, that *Laſtantiuſ's* quotations from the *Greek* authors are printed in a very neat *Greek* letter, and extremely like that which the first Printers of *Rome*, *Conrard Sweynbeym* and *Arnold Pannartz*, became noted for. This induc'd father *Orlandi* to think it was one of the first essays, which those two *Germans* made in that convent, before they went to *Rome*; but this can by no means be allow'd, because tho' the character be like theirs, yet it appears by the eight first impressions, which they printed at *Rome*; that they had no *Greek* alphabet 'till four or five years after the date of this impression, as we shall see in the next chapter: the following colophon is at the end of it.

*In the year of our Lord MCCCCLXV, and the second year
of the pontificate of Pope Paul II. in the XIII indiction,
and on the last day but one of the month of October, in the
venerable monastery of Subiaco.*

THIS scarce and curious edition is mention'd by *Montfaucon* in his *Diarium Italicum* p. 255, & seq. who hath given it an earlier date, viz. 1461; but the mistake arises from the last figure's being imperfectly printed. We know nothing of any other impression, which came from that Monastery's press.

§. 3. *The CITY of AUSBURGH.*

THE next is the city of *Ausburgh* [in *latin Augusta*,] one of the most opulent of the imperial cities in *Germany*; in which the learned *John Bemler* set up a Printing-press, about the year 1466. The only two books, that are known to be printed by him, are the *Latin Bible* in fol. with this inscription — *Per Joh. Bemler, Augustæ Vindelic. ann. 1466*; and his translation of *Joh. Nach's summa præcipuorum capitum fidei christianæ*, out of *Latin* into *high Dutch*, printed ann. 1472. Whether he printed any books during that six years interval, or was employed wholly in translating this last work, is difficult to determine, as well as whether he publish'd any thing after 1472. However there were five other eminent persons in that city, who, tho' they did not begin so soon as he, yet printed

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ted divers learned works; most of them, being either citizens or natives of *Ausburgh*, might in all probability learn the Art from him.

As we have little or nothing particular concerning them except their impressions, we shall content our selves with giving their names, character, and the time in which they printed, as far as we can discover it by their known works.

AFTER the above nam'd *John Bemler* came.

2. JOHN SHUSLER citizen of *Ausburgh*, a very good Printer, but whose works reach only from ann. 1471 to 1472.

3. GONTER ZAINER de *Reutlingen*, who printed from ann. 1471 to 1484, we have but eight of his impressions.

4. ANT. SORGIUS citizen of *Ausburgh* from 1477 to 1487, we have but four of his editions.

5. ERHARD RALDOLT of *Ausburgh*, who after having printed some works at *Venice*, with his partner *Bernard Pictor*, 'till the year 1485 or beyond, return'd to his own native city, and there set up a press about or before the year 1488, and continu'd printing 'till 1490, if not beyond: however he was a very diligent Printer for those times, seeing he printed in that short space seven books in *latin*.

6. THE last we find in this city, is *John Schensperger*, who printed a chronical work in *Latin*, with cutts fol. ann. 1497; but whether any besides that, is not as yet known.

WE find likewise two or three *Dutch* books printed here without Printer's name, and of no great consequence.

C H A P. II.

1. *The first Printers at Rome; their Patrons and Correctors; Books printed by them, &c. their Petition to the Pope.*
2. *The City of Tours, 1467.*
3. *The Town of Reutlingen, 1469.*

SOON after *Ausburgh* had receiv'd the Art of Printing, it was brought to *Rome* by two Germans, *Conrard Sweynheim* and *Arnold Pannarts*; who set up a printing-house there anno 1466, the second year of

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of the pontificate of *Paul II.* under the patronage of *John Andreas* Bishop of *Aleria*, who was the Popes library-keeper, justly fam'd for his learning and generosity. These printers assisted with that prelates purse, did immediately prepare an elegant, round, *Roman* character, and a sufficient quantity of the finest paper; they invented likewise such variety of spaces, as kept a beautiful distance between the words, and made their impressions appear with the greatest neatness and exactness. Their margins were broad, and not only added a grace to the pages, but rendered them likewise convenient for the writing of notes, &c. and their ink was so excellent, that it still looks as fresh as if newly printed. In short, they were persons who valu'd their credit, and the honour of pleasing their patron more than riches; and spar'd neither cost nor labour, in order to make their impressions as beautiful and correct, as possible; which any one that has seen them, will own with pleasure.

I doubt not but the great acquaintance amongst the learned, which their noble patron's friendship procur'd them, might be a great means of their improving the art to such a degree; seeing such persons were best able to discover the faults and inconveniences of the first printed books, which these *Germans* might more easily rectify when they became acquainted with them. These two partners settled themselves in the house of *Peter* and *Francis de Maximis*, brothers and Roman knights; where the Bishop of *Aleria* not only furnish'd them with the most valuable manuscripts, out of the *Vatican* and other libraries, but also prepar'd them himself, corrected their proofs, and prefix'd prefaces and dedications to their works, in order to recommend them the more to the learned world. This laborious task was follow'd by him with such application, that he scarce allow'd himself time to sleep. What a value this great Bishop had both for the art and these two great masters of it, appears from his dedication to Pope *Paul II.* prefix'd to the edition of *St. Jerom's Epistles*, which I shall now give the *English* reader a translation of. „ It was, says he, in your days, that among many other divine „ favours this blessing was bestow'd on the Christian world, that every „ poor scholar can purchase for himself a library for a small sum, — „ that those volumes, which heretofore could scarce be bought for an „ hundred crowns, may now be procur'd for less than twenty, very well

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„ printed, and free from those faults with which manuscripts us'd to
 „ abound. — for such is the art of our printers and letter-makers,
 „ that no antient or modern discovery is comparable to it. Surely the
 „ *German* nation deserves our highest esteem, for the invention of the most
 „ useful arts. The wish of the noble and divine Cardinal *Cusa*, is now —
 „ in your time accomplish'd, who earnestly desir'd that this sacred art,
 „ which then seem'd rising in *Germany*, might be brought to *Rome*.
 „ Your Pontificate, (glorious in every respect,) will be as immortal as
 „ learning it self. In which this art was brought and laid at your Holi-
 „ ness's feet. — It is my chief aim in this epistle to let posterity know,
 „ that the art of printing and type-making was brought to *Rome* under
 „ *Paul II.* This blessing was certainly confer'd on us by our heavenly
 „ Shepherd, that a book is now purchas'd for less than a binding for-
 „ merly. Receive then, great, generous and glorious Pontif, the first
 „ volume of *St. Jerom*, graciously, — and take the excellent masters of
 „ this art, *Conrard Sweynbeym* and *Arnold Pannarts*, *Germans*, under
 „ your protection, &c.

THUS were these two printers caref'd and encourag'd by most of the men of letters and fortune at *Rome*, and even by the Pope himself, who frequently visited their Printing-house, and examin'd with admiration every branch of this new art; which seem'd design'd to recover learning, and restore that city to its antient lustre. This excited them to approve themselves worthy of all that esteem, which was shew'd them, by publishing a vast number of elegant impressions, some of which were so large that they could not be done without great labor and charges, as will be evident from the list of their works, which they presented to the Pope, of which we shall give an account in its proper place.

WHAT their first impression was, whether *Cicero's Familiar Epistles*, or *St. Austin's book de Civitate Dei*, is what authors can by no means agree about; that the former was printed at *Rome* ann. 1467, with a latin epigram, at the end of which their names are at full length; and on the following year, a new edition of *St. Austin's book* is plain beyond contra-

* Anno igitur eodem 1468, opus *Augustini de Civitate Dei* eruditissimum; *Epistolas Hieronymi* disertissimas, cum luminibus orationis tum viribus argumentorum instructas vulgaverunt.

— Anno superiore *Tullianas* dederant *Epistolas*, hoc dant *Hieronymianas*, &c. *Amal. Typograph. p. 44.*

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dition: the dispute therefore seems to be about an edition of it, older by a year; in which the Printer, without either naming himself, or the place in which it was done, contents himself with this colophon in *latin*, MCCCCLXVII, in the third year of Pope Paul II, &c. from which last words, and the likeness of the character with the *Lactantius* printed at *Subiaco*, and their first impressions at *Rome*; they venture to affirm it to have been printed by them, without deciding whether at *Rome* or any where else. *Orlandi*, the last writer upon the subject, speaks of it as follows, p. 67¹. „ It is certain that the first work, that came out of their press has „ been universally believ'd by authors to be St. *Austin's* book *de civitate* „ *Dei*; and tho' it mentions neither the name of the place or of the „ Printer, yet being printed in a round Roman character, and in the „ third year of *Paul II. ann. 1467*, as may be seen at the end of the said „ book; „ it cannot but have been done by them; but I think I have two material objections against it: the *first* is, that if they had printed it at *Rome*, they would not have omitted it in their list to the Pope; and if at *Subiaco* or any where else, I cannot see how they could print the *Cicero* at *Rome* in the same year. *Secondly*, tho' the likeness of the character seems to carry some proof, and inclin'd him to believe the edition of *Subiaco* to have been also done by them; yet it is evident by what we hinted in the introduction, that they were so far from being furnish'd with a *Greek* alphabet, that their first works have all the *greek* done upon wood in a very inelegant manner; and that whenever the quotation was above three or four words, they left a blank space to be fill'd afterwards with the pen; whereas this of *Lactantius* has all the *greek* quotations printed in a beautiful cast letter: and therefore tho' we may allow this edition and that disputed one of St. *Austin's*, to have been done by the same hand; yet it is plain it could not be done by those two *Germans*. If we can believe them, they'll tell us, that they began their first tryal with a less considerable work, viz. *Donatus's grammar*, of which they printed only 300 copies: this is plain, both by their putting it at the head of their list, and

¹ Egli e ancora certissimo che il primo Libro, il quale uscì dalle stampe di *Roma*, e sempre stato creduto dagli autori il Sant. *Agostino de civitate Dei*, il quale se bene non addita il luogo, ave stampato, ne il nome degl' *Impressori*, tutta

volta e di carettere tondo *Romano*, stampato nel anno terzo di papa *Paolo II*, e nel millesimo 1467, come si legge in detto libro. *Orland. origin. della Stamp. pag. 67.*

by

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by their prefacing it with the words — *unde imprimendi initium sumpsimus*, after which they went on with ¹ *Cicero's Epistles*, and the rest of their works without mentioning any edition of *St. Austin's* before the year 1468: the epigram which we mention'd before, to be at the end of both these editions is as follows,

*Hoc Conradus opus Sweynheim ordine miro
Arnoldusque simul Pannartz una æde colendi
Gente Theotonica Romæ expediere sodales
In domo Petri de Maximis.*

I have already hinted their method of managing the *Greek* quotations, which they follow'd in the first volumes they printed, that is 'till the middle of the year 1469: perhaps were they forc'd to it for want of workmen to cut the *Greek* alphabet; but at length, notwithstanding the neglect of that tongue might have excus'd them from the labour and expence of procuring setts of punches and matrices for Printing in that language, and the difficulty of finding workmen fit for such a task, they surmounted every obstacle of this nature, and form'd a compleat *Greek* alphabet, which they us'd in the edition of *Aulus Gellius*. Concerning this edition the Bishop of *Aleria* speaks thus; „ However, this prov'd a very arduous task at first; — for a great part of the *Latin* was corrupted thro' „ the negligence of the transcribers; and a much greater part of the „ *Greek* deprav'd, maim'd, and mutilated. Even that, which remain'd „ entire, was scarce understood by *Latin* scholars, by reason of their ignorance in *Greek*. Some attempts have been made by persons skill'd „ in both tongues, to restore this jewell to its former lustre; but they, „ either discourag'd by the difficulty, or diverted by other affairs, desisted from the undertaking. „ Thus writes that learned prelate, who by the assistance of *Theodore Gaza*, a man of great abilities and universal learning, perform'd this admirable work, rectify'd the *Latin* text, and render'd the *Greek* intelligible. This edition was printed *ann.* 1469 in a fine character, with the arguments to each book done in red by the illu-

¹ Concerning these two editions the letter on which they were printed, gave names to two sizes of *Printing-letter*; viz. from *Cicero's Epistles*, that siz'd Letter has been call'd *Cicero* ever since in *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, and

answers to our *Pica*; *Holland* alone calls it *Mediæan*: the other is from *St. Austin's* book, which is call'd *Augustin* in several parts of *Europe*, but with us *English*; but this I shall treat of more largely in the second volume.

minators.

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minators. The quotations, which are long and more frequent, than in any other author, are printed in a fair *Greek* character, considering this kind of printing was but in its infancy; and what is extremely remarkable, they were so correctly printed, that, as we are assur'd by Mr. *Mattaire*, in two whole pages, which contain'd seventy six lines of a considerable length, there were but *fourteen* faults of impression. The place, mention'd by that author, may be seen in *pag. 46* of his *Annales Typogr.* where he has set down those places, which were wrong printed, in order to convince the world, by the smallness of their number, of the accuracy and diligence of those two Printers.

HE tells us likewise that their *Greek* character was somewhat large, round and even, without accents, ligatures, abbreviations, or any thing that might perplex the reader, except only that sometimes two or more words were join'd together without any space between them; and that the periods had either no full stop, or one in the wrong place; so that a person, not us'd to MSS. was doubtful where the sense ended. To this edition was prefix'd a dedicatory Epistle of the Bishop of *Aleria* to the Pope, wherein he acknowledges the kindness of his Holiness and the Cardinal of *Ostia*, in supplying him with money in his greatest exigencies; and promises to proceed with the utmost industry in furnishing the learned world with new productions from the press. At the end of the book is a copy of verses, suppos'd to be written by the same prelate, in praise of that edition, which are elegant for those times, the reader may find them at length in Mr. *Mattaire's Annals* p. 47. I shall only give a *latin* octastich, which was printed at the end of several of their impressions, in commendation of the printers; wherein the poet apologizes for the harshness of their *German* names, offensive without doubt to an *Italian* ear. They are inserted particularly in the first edition of St. *Jerom's Epistles*, and the great work of *Nich. de Lyra* entitled *Glossa ordinaria in universam Bibliam*, 5 vol. fol. and in several others. The reader will find them in the margin*. Thus they continued printing without inter-

* Aspicias illustres, lector, quicunque libellos,
Si cupis artificum nomina nosse, lege.
Aspera ridebis cognomina Teutona forsan:
Mitiget ars Musis infamia verba virum.

Conradus Sweynheim, Arnoldus, Pannartzque
magistri.
Romæ impresserunt talia multa simul,
Petrus cum fratre Francisco Maximus, ambo
Huic operi aptatam contribuere domum.
mission

mission for seven years, whilst their patron procur'd 'em all possible assistance, and overlook'd their impressions. This is manifest from the editions of *Tully*, *St. Jerom*, *Livy*, *Lucan*, the works of *St. Leo*, *Ovid*, *Nicholas de Lyra*, and especially of *Pliny*, with many more; in which the Bishop acquaints the world with the pains, taken by himself and his constant assistant *Theod. Gaza*, in correcting the originals, and presiding over the editions ¹. For this reason *Dr. Mentel*, mention'd in our first book, affirms him to have been corrector of *Sweynheim's* press, and *Campanus* Bishop of *Teramo*, who was *Ulric Han's* patron, to have perform'd the same office in his ². This is likewise asserted by *Naudé* in his supplement to the history of *Lewis XI* ³, and divers other writers. But it is questionable whether those excellent persons can properly be call'd correctors, or rather do not deserve the title of authors or editors.

HOWEVER, there is an eminent passage in this Epistle of the Bishop's before *Pliny's* works, which as it demonstrates his care and diligence in his province, ought not to be omitted. „ It was, says he ⁴, the earnest request of *Ireneus* Bp. of *Lyons*; and of *Justin*, who of a philosopher became a martyr, and likewise of *St. Jerom* and *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*, to the latest posterity, that those, who were to transcribe their works, would diligently compare the copies of them, and carefully correct them: the same request I make now, both with respect to other books, and in particular to *Pliny*, lest that work, which cost so much labour and study, (for he spent above nine whole years in it) should again sink into its former errors and inextricable darkness. „

¹ — Juvit mirifice vir summæ eruditionis ac sapientiæ *Theodorus* meus *Gaza*, atque ita quidem, ut absque illo nec, pene dixerim, mundus hoc munus fuerit impleturus. *Epist. Dedic. ad Pap. Paul. II.* prefix'd to *Pliny*.

² *Joannes Andreas* præsul *Aleriensis*, qui in ipsorum libraria taberna ἐπινοεῖσθαι esse non designatus est; ut nec *Campanus* in *Uldaric. Mentel. de vera Typograph. origin.* p. 11.

³ Rome fut une des premières où la presse roula par le moyen d'un *Uldaricus Gallus*, qui dona sujet à l'évêque *Jo. Campanus*, lequel se rendit correcteur de son imprimerie de compo-

ser cette épigramme à sa louange, que raporte *Faernus. Addit. ad Hist. Lud. XI.* p. 297.

⁴ *Irenæus Lugdunensis* episcopus; item *Justinus* ex philosopho martyr; item cum divo *Hieronymo* *Eusebius Casariensis* seram posteritatem adjurarunt, ut eorum descripturi opera conferrent diligenter exemplaria, solerti studio emendarent: idem ego tum in cæteris libris, tum maxime in *Plinio* ut fiat, vehementer obsecro, obtestor, atque adjuro, ne ad priora menda & tenebras inextricabiles tanti sudoris opus relabatur.

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HITHERTO we have seen the flourishing state of this press, which in the space of six or seven years at most, *viz.* from *ann.* 1467 to 1472, oblig'd the world with no less than twelve thousand four hundred and seventy five volumes, in eight and twenty editions, some of them very large, and all beautiful and correct; so that if their vast labours and cost had met with suitable success, they must have rais'd a prodigious estate. But, whatever be the cause, 'tis certain that the greatest part of this library remain'd still in their hands for want of buyers; which reduc'd them to the most necessitous circumstances. Father *Orlandi* endeavours to account for this ill-success, by supposing that their impressions, being in Roman character, were dislik'd in those days, because the learned had been so accusom'd to the old Gothick, as not to approve of this new, tho' preferable one. This conjecture seems the more probable upon two accounts; 1. Because several eminent printers were oblig'd to comply with the taste of the age, and use the old character, resembling that of MSS. 2. Most of the first Printers of *Paris, Venice, Rome, &c.* who began with the Roman, were forc'd by degrees to resume the old Gothick, which continu'd till almost the middle of the next century, and prov'd the ruin of many valuable impressions in divers parts of *Europe*. However that be, our two *Germans* under these pressing exigencies had recourse to their great patron, who immediately drew up a petition in their names and behalf to Pope *Xystus IV.* subjoin'd to the fifth volume of *Nich. de Lyra's Gloss.* and presented on the 20th of *March* 1472. In this he represents their great merit and misery in the most pathetick terms imaginable; gives a catalogue of all the volumes printed by them, the greatest part of which was still unfold; prays his Holiness to consider their deplorable case; and declares their readiness to deliver up the unfold books either to him, or to whomsoever he should command, for their present subsistence. The Bishop, to shew that he was sensibly touch'd with their misfortune, prefaceth the petition in his own name, and requests the Pope to hear the just complaint of his worthy and industrious Printers; and afterwards exposes their circumstances in their own words. As this curious piece has never yet, that I know of, been translated into *English*; I presume the reader will be pleas'd to see it, with the promis'd list of their works, both which they printed with the

S

works

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works *N. de Lyra*; *Chevillier* tells us he saw it at the beginning of *Tome 5*, of that great work. It is as follows,

„ ¹ Jo. ANDR. to XYSTUS IV.

—,, Your Holiness's humble petitioners *Conrad Sweynheim* and *Arnold Pannartz*, our printers and the first artificers, who practis'd this most

¹ Jo. AND. ad XYST. IV.

— Ut digneris misericorditer occurrere, fervuli tuæ sanctitatis *Conradus Sweynheim* & *Arnoldus Pannartz*, impressores nostri ac utilissimæ hujus fectoriæ artis primi in *Italia* opifices implorant. — Vox impressorum sub tanto chartarum fasce laborantium, & nifi tualiberalitas opituletur, deficientium ista est. — Nos de *Germanis* primi, tanti commodi artem in Ro-

manam curiam tuam multo sudore & impensa decessoris tui tempestate deveximus. Nos opifices librarios cæteros, ut idem auderent, nostro exemplo incitavimus — Indicem si perlegeris impressorum a nobis operum, miraberis — vel chartas huic librorum copiarum potuisse vel lineamenta sufficere — Impressi sunt nostro studio libri, qui in subjectis suo ordine tibi recensentur.

1. Donatus pro puerulis, ut inde principium dicendi sumamus, unde imprimendi initium sumpsimus, — without date. —	CCC.
2. Lactantii Firm. Institutionum divinarum lib. vii. — — — Anno 1468	DCCXXV.
3. M. Tull. Cicer. Epistolæ familiares — — — — — 1467	DL.
4. M. T. Cicer. Epistolæ ad Atticum — — — — — 1470	CCLXXV.
5. Roderic. episcop. Zamorensis Speculum vitæ humanæ — — — 1468	CCC.
6. D. August. de civitate Dei — — — — — 1468	DCCCXXV.
7. D. Hieronymi epistolæ, vol. II — — — — — 1468	MC.
8. M. T. Cicer. de oratore cum cæteris, — without date —	DL.
9. M. T. Cicer. pars libelli de philosophia — — — — — 1471	DL.
10. L. Apuleius Platonicus cum Alcino — — — — — 1469	CCLXXV.
11. Auli Gellii noctium Atticarum lib. — — — — — 1469	CCLXXV.
12. C. Cæsar. Commentaria — — — — — 1469	CCLXXV.
13. Divi Platonis defensio, — — — without date — — —	CCC.
14. P. Virgil. Maron opera omnia, — — — without date — — —	DL.
15. T. Livius Patavinus cum Epitome decadum, — without date —	CCLXXV.
16. Strabonis Geographia, — — — without date — — —	CCLXXV.
17. M. Annæus Lucanus — — — — — 1466	CCLXXV.
18. C. Plinii Veronens. Natur. histor. — — — — — 1470	CCC.
19. C. Suetonius Tranquillus de xii Cæsar. — — — — — 1470	CCLXXV.
20. Div. Leonis Pap. sermones — — — — — 1470	CCLXXV.
21. M. Fab. Quintilian. Institution. Oratoriar. — — — — — 1470	CCLXXV.
22. D. Thom. Aquin. Continuum catenæ aureæ, — without date —	DL.
23. D. Cypriani Epistolæ — — — — — 1471	CCLXXV.
24. Biblia cum Opusculo Aristæ — — — — — 1471	DL.
25. Silius Italicus cum Calphurnio & Hesiodo — — — — — 1471	CCLXXV.
26. M. T. Oraciones cum invectivis in Verrem, &c. — — — — — 1471	CCLXXV.
27. P. Ovid. Nafon. opera omnia, 2 vol. — — — — — 1471	DL.
28. Nichol. de Lyra. Glossa in tot. Bibl. 5 vol. — — — 1471 — 1472	MC.

„ useful

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„ useful invention in *Italy*, implore your assistance. — This is the
 „ voice of those printers, who labour under such a load of printed vo-
 „ lumes, that they must sink under it, unless timely reliev'd by you.
 „ — We were the first of the *Germans*, who introduc'd this excellent
 „ art, with vast labour and cost, into your territories, in the time of
 „ your predecessor; and encourag'd, by our example, other printers to
 „ do the same. If you peruse the catalogue of the works printed by
 „ us, you will admire how and where we could procure a sufficient
 „ quantity of paper, or even rags, for such a number of volumes. —
 „ The books, done by us, are subjoin'd in the following order. „

THE list of those books consisting entirely of *Latin*, I have put them
 with the original of the petition in the margin, and have added the date of
 the year wherein each was printed, as far as it could be procur'd, there
 being none in the catalogue. The order of time is not observ'd, but
 only the number of copies of each. We may likewise infer what book
 were then most esteem'd, not upon the account of their authors, but of
 their usefulness, by the proportionate number printed of them. The
 petition thus proceeds.

„ THE total of these volumes amounts to twelve thousand four hun-
 „ dred seventy five, a prodigious heap, and intolerable to us, your Holi-
 „ ness's printers, by reason of those unfold. — We are no longer able
 „ to bear the great expence of house-keeping for want of buyers; of
 „ which there cannot be a more flagrant proof, than that our house,
 „ otherwise spacious enough, is full of *Quire-books*, but void of every
 „ necessary of life: — we are ready, if your goodness shall judge it

Horum omnium voluminum summa — effi-
 cit codices duodecies mille quadringentos septu-
 aginta quinque; acervum quidem ingentem, &
 nobis impressoribus tuis; qua parte restat, in-
 tolerabilem — ingens sumptus ad victum ne-
 cessarius, cessantibus emptoribus ferri amplius a
 nobis nequit; & ementes non esse nullum est
 gravius testimonium, quam quod domus nostra
 fatis magna plena est quinternionum, inanis re-
 rum necessariarum — parati sumus pro clementiæ
 tuæ arbitrio de nostra merce i. e. de impressis
 quinternionibus nostris tibi tot tradere, quot
 volueris, & quibus volueris. — Tua incredi-
 bilis mansuetudo subveniat nobis de aliquo offi-

cio, unde possimus nos & nostros alere. Im-
 pensa est facta in solius *Nicolai de Lyra* a nobis
 voluminibus tanta, ut amplius nihil nobis su-
 perfit ad vivendum. Si venderemus opera
 nostra, non solum a pietate tua nihil peteremus,
 sed ultro in præsentium temporum articulo, in
 quo te plurimum egere non nescimus, ipsi no-
 stra offerremus; faciemusque quotiens tuo ad-
 jumento fortuna nobiscum usâ esse videbitur
 fronte serenior. Interea, Pater Sancte, adju-
 vent nos miserationes tuæ, quia pauperes facti
 sumus nimis — xx Martii. M^o CCCC LXXII,
 Pontificatus tui Clementissimi anno primo.

„ meet, to deliver up as much of our wares, *i. e.* printed sheets, as you
 „ please, to your self, or to whom you shall order. -- We therefore be-
 „ seech your great Clemency to bestow some place upon us, whereby
 „ we may be enabled to maintain our selves and families. The im-
 „ pression of *Nicol. de Lyra's* works hath prov'd so chargeable, that we
 „ have nothing left to live upon. Could we sell our books, we should
 „ be so far from desiring any thing at your hands, that on the contrary
 „ we should willingly contribute of our own to you, whose exigencies
 „ at this juncture we are well acquainted with; and this shall readily be
 „ perform'd, whenever fortune, by your assistance, shall smile upon us.
 „ In the mean time, let your Holiness pity and help us, whose necessity
 „ is so exceeding great. — *March xx, ann. MCCCCLXXII*, and in the
 „ first year of your most gracious pontificate. „

THUS were these indigent persons oblig'd to expose their misery to the world; with what success, I cannot learn: tho' it is evident from their printing a considerable time after, as shall be shewn, that some method must have been taken to extricate them from those wretched circumstances. *Sweynheim* indeed publish'd nothing after the year 1473; and for that reason is suppos'd by some to have dy'd about that time; yet his partner *Pannartz* continu'd printing till *ann. 1476*, in a smaller character than what was us'd by him in company with the former. It will not perhaps be amiss to remark that the word *quinternio* in the petition, translated by us *Quire-books*, signifies a quire of five sheets so impos'd, that they are put into one another by the book-binder, and the first sheet contains the first and last of the 10 leaves, the second the 2d and 9th, &c. this method oblig'd 'em to compose *twenty* whole pages of matter, before they work'd it off at press; and requir'd a prodigious quantity of letter to every Font. All the editions of these two partners as yet known, from their first settlement at *Rome, ann. 1467* to 1473 in which *Sweynheim* is thought to have dy'd, are 40 in number, all folio's and in *latin*; some of them pretty considerable, such were their Bible of 1471 mention'd in the former book in two large volumes, and *Nicol. de Lyra* in five larger ones; the works of Pope *Leo* surnam'd the Great, &c. As for those which *Pannartz* printed afterwards by himself, we have not been able to discover above six, all *latin* folio's, but none so considerable as the three
 last

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last named: he began to use the *Registrum Chartarum* (which is the signatures plac'd at the end of the book thus, A B C D, &c. and so on for as many sheets as the book contains) in his edition of *Herodotus* translated by *Laurent. Valla*, and printed ann. 1475; his latter works are done in a very elegant character; the last of which is the *Quæstiones de Veritate* of *Thom. Aquinas*. It must be observ'd that many of these editions are printed without date, and sometimes without their names, but most of them have one or the other of the Epigrams mention'd before viz. *Hoc Conradus opus* &c. or *Aspicias illustres*, &c. but oftener the latter.

THESE are all the particulars I could meet with concerning these two Printers. The next in rank is,

ULDRIC HAN ann. MCCCCLXVIII.

ULDRIC HAN is commonly call'd in *Latin*, *Gallus*, in *Italian* *Gallo*, and in *French* *Coq*, which signifies a *Cock*; for every writer upon this subject, has thought fit to translate his name into that language in which he wrote. This Printer came and set up a Printing-press at *Rome* within a very short space after *Sweynheim* and *Pannartz*. He was a person so accomplish'd in his art, that several nations have claim'd him, and in particular the *Germans* and *French*. These latter grounded their pretences upon the following authority. *Anthony Campanus* bishop of *Teramo*, the most distinguish'd poet and orator of his time, perform'd the same office to him, which the bishop of *Aleria* did to the two *Germans*, viz. of preparing and correcting his copies, revising his editions, and writing epistles and commendatory verses upon them. He observing that *Han* had latiniz'd his name, and subscrib'd one or two of his impressions *Uldaricus Gallus*, particularly the edition of the universal history of *Rodoricus Santius* a *Spaniard*, whom Pope *Paul II* made governour of the castle of *St Angelo* and bishop of *Palentino*, took occasion to mistake his name willfully, (for he could not possibly be ignorant of his being a *German*;) and to represent him as a *Frenchman*, not so much out of respect to that nation above the *Germans*, as for the sake of a pun in his epigram, which you will find in the margin¹. The witticism consists chiefly in this,

¹ Anser *Tarpeii* custos *Jovis*, unde quod alis
Constreperes, *Gallus* decedit; ultor adest

Uldricus Gallus: ne quem poscantur in usum,
Edocuit pennis nil opus esse tuis.

that

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that the *Gauls* or *French* being discover'd by the noise of the geese one night in their attempt to surprize the *Roman Capitol*, a countryman of theirs had found out a way to be reveng'd of them, by teaching the world an art of writing without the help of their quills. These verses are annex'd to an edition of *T. Livy* by *U. Han* without date, and quoted by several authors.

MICH. FERNUS in his life of that Bishop tells us, that he learn'd this epigram of a *Turk*, whom he met with in a journey to the Pope's territories; and who gave him account of his conversion to the christian religion, and his early love of eloquence, which induc'd him to leave *Turky* and come to *Rome*, to see the famous *Paul II.* and *Campanus*, whose works he had carefully collected; and amongst other things recited this epigram. However, 'tis evident that he was a *German* by his adding the name of his country to that of *Gallus* in several of his editions. Thus, in that of *Cicero de Oratore*, ann. 1468. he calls himself *Ulricum Gallum de Wienâ*; in *St Austin de civitate Dei* ann. 1474, *Ulricum Gallum Almanum*; in some others *Ulricum Gallum de Bienna & de Ingolstat.* *Wimpbeling* undertook to prove him a *German* against *Fernus*, who in his life of *Campanus* chang'd *Gallus* into *Gallicus* to make him an absolute *Frenchman*, and ascrib'd this mistake to his having translated his name into *latin*; which, as *Hermolaus Barbarus* asserts, ought never to be done. But in this he did no more than what was frequent among the *Germans* and others, who to soften the harshness of their surnames, either alter'd or latiniz'd them; so *Fust* chang'd his into *Faustus*, *Schoeffer* into *Opilio*, *Leichtenstein* into *Le-wi lapis*, *des Rouges* into *de Rubeis*, and the learned *Stephens* into *Stephanus*; which custom still prevails in foreign parts: and the famous *Monf. le Clerc* of *Amsterdam*, styles himself *Joan. Clericus* in all his *latin* works. To return to *Ulric Han*.

THE time of his first coming to *Rome* is not easily determin'd. Some affirm that he was settled there before *Sweynheim* and *Pannartz*, as *Wimpbeling*, *Monf. Naude*, and *Dr. Mentel*; but this seems improbable upon two accounts. 1. Because we have no edition of his so ancient as those of the two last nam'd; 2. Because the Bp. of *Aleria*, who was the editor of all the first impressions of these, determines in their favour; and his testimony is of much greater weight in this case, than that of those

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those writers. He attributes the honour to Sweynheim, &c. of having founded the first Printing-house at Rome, and brought the Art from Germany, in the preceding Popes reign, and by their example encourag'd others to do the like; as he speaks in the petition to Xystus IV, above quoted. Now Xystus's predecessor was Paul II, who was advanc'd to that dignity in August 1464; and in his days they came to Rome. If Campanus, the patron of Ulric, had known of his settling there before them, he would certainly have contradicted the Bp. of Aleria, and maintain'd the priority to the man, who, under his protection, prov'd so indefatigable in his business, that himself was engag'd night and day in revising his works¹. The merit of this Printer appears from his fine impressions, and the choice that his patron made of him to publish those works, which he had procur'd and corrected with the utmost application, as well as from the praises, which he gives him in his prefatory epistles and verses. We find by the list of his books, that he frequently neglected the date of the impression and his own name. The former defect is supplied, as far as possible, from some material circumstances, either in the epistles affix'd to them, or elsewhere in the book; and the latter by a diligent comparing of one edition with another; for there is some peculiar difference between the characters of the first Printers, by which a nice observer may judge of the author.

Thus Mr. Mattaire remarks that the types of Con. Sweynheim and Arn. Pannartz, were easily known by their having a long *s* at the end of words, the *i* without a point, and no diphthongs: those of Nic. Jenson were much more round and neat, with the diphthongs, *æ* and *œ*; whereas Jo. Spires made use of *ę* for *æ*, and Ulric Han. uses a single *e* instead of a diphthong.

ABOUT 1473, Han took Simon Nicolai de Luca into partnership with him till the end of the year 1474, after which he printed by himself till 1476. There was also a brother of his, call'd Lupus Han, whose name stands alone in some of those impressions, which are nevertheless allow'd to be Ulric's

¹ Cum Uldricus quidam Gallicus, qui formas in urbem literarias nuper intulisset, illum interquiescere assiduis emendationibus non permitteret, remque literariam ex magnis difficultatibus

inopiaque ad ingentem ubertatem gloriosissimo illo & divino opificio evocaret, &c. Fern. in Vita Campani.

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by reason of the likeness of the character &c. and added to the list of his works by the two latest annalists, Mr. *Maittaire* and Father *Orlandi*. He affected to put at the end of some of his editions, the colophon of *John Faust* and *Peter Schoeffer*. *Non atramento, plumali calamo, &c. i. e.* that it was not done with pen, ink, or any other writing instrument, &c.

ANN. 1473 he began to print a register in two columns at the end of his *Virgil*: all his other editions, as yet known, are 21 in number, the first of which is *Cicero de Oratore* in 3 books ann. 1468, the last *Tit. Livy* in *Italian* 1476: this last is in three volumes fol. the 2d of which has an error in its date, where they have printed 1460 instead of 1476. This work has not indeed his name, but those who have seen it make no doubt but it was printed by him.

THE two *Germans* had reason to tell the Pope in their petition, that their example had encourag'd many more Printers to come and settle at *Rome*, seeing we find no less than *thirteen*, who practis'd the same Art there between 1470 and 1490, besides the brother of *Uldric Han*, and his partner *Simon de Luca*; and *eight* or *nine* of whom were actually settled there within a few years after the two former; but as we have nothing left particularly concerning them, except their names and their works, we shall just mention them as they came in course of time.

4. *GEORGE LAVER de Herbioli* 1470 alias *Wortsburg*, he wrought in the Monastery of *St. Eusebius* at *Rome*, as we find by an epigram of eight verses in *latin* rhyme written, as is suppos'd, by his corrector *Celestine Pulverinus*; and printed at the end of his edition of *Traſtatus de Institutione simplicium Confessorum*, ann. 1472; he had a partner some space of the time, viz. *Leonard Pelugi*; we have but *five* editions of his; the first is that of *St. Chryſoſtom's* homilies, translated into *latin* by *Fr. Aretine*, fol. ann. 1470; the last is *Durandi Speculum*, ann. 1479; he had another corrector nam'd *Pomponius*.

5. *ADAM ROT* 1471, he us'd likewise *Faust's* colophon, and in the first of the two editions we have of him, styles himself *Clericus Metenf. Diocef.* his last edition is dated 1474.

6. *JOHN*

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6. JOHN PHILIP *de Lignamine* 1472, he was a native of *Messina* and a *Sicilian* knight, and intimate with Pope *Sixtus IV*, to whom he inscrib'd a book of his writing, *De unoquoque Cibo & Potu utili homini & nocivo, & eorum primis qualitalibus*. *Malinkrot* mentions him pag. 84 upon the authority of *Simler*, which last affirms him to have printed the following works at *Rome*, viz. *Quintilian*, *Suetonius*, the works of *St. Leo*, *Lactantius*, *St. Ambrose*, *Tully's Offices*, *Laur. Valla's Elegantiae*, and *Horatii opuscula*: but we find none of these editions in the list of his works, but only four less considerable ones, the three first in *Italian*, and the last, *Eusebius's* history translated into *Latin* by *Rufinus*, and printed ann. 1476.

7. STEPHEN PLANCK of *Padua* 1472, we have eight editions of his, the last of which is dated 1497.

8. GEORGE SACHEL *de Reichenbalt*, 1474; his last edition of three is dated 1477.

9. JOHN REYNARD *de Eningen*, 1475; we have but one edition of his printed at *Rome*, ann. 1475, 14 years after which, we find him printing at *Strasburgh*.

10. JOHN *de Nicolao Haneymar de Openheim*, }
11. JOHN SCHUSENER *de Bopardia*, } 1475,

we have but two editions of theirs, both dated 1475.

12. JOHN TIBULL *de Amidanis Cremonese*, 1475; the two editions we have of his bear the same date.

13. EUCHARIUS SILBER OF WIRTZBURGH, 1475.

THIS *Silber*, alias *Franck*, a *German* and native of *Wirtzburg*, signaliz'd himself at *Rome* by the fineness of his letter, which were of the *Venetian* sort. He set up his Printing-house in *Campo di Fiore*; and not only translated his name *Silber* [*Silver*] into *latin*, but likewise into *greek*; so that some of his editions are subscrib'd *Achirion* and *Argyrion*, others *Argenteus*, added to that of *Franck*. The works we have of his are twenty one in number, from ann. 1475 to 1500: however he continued printing there many years after, but either the greatest part of these last have been lost, or else he printed but little, since we meet only with two editions of his from 1500 to 1509, in *Mr. Mattaire's annals*.

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HIS correctors were *Michael Fern* surnam'd *Archipoeta*, *Bartholomew Salicetus*, and *Ludovicus Regii*; the first of whom collected with prodigious industry all bishop *Campanus's* works, which he caus'd to be printed in two different places within *six* months of each other, viz. at *Venice* and *Rome*, in the order in which he had digested them. These impressions were printed so incorrectly, that he was oblig'd to insert an *Errata* in *Silber's* edition; wherein he expresses a vast deal of indignation, that a work, in which he had labour'd so much, should yet be publish'd so full of faults; and gives it the following title, *Vis ex stulto demens, idemque ex demente insanus fieri? Libros Romæ primus imprime, Corruptorum recognitio*. After this he proceeds to the *Errata*, with an acknowledgement of his own errors, and endeavours to clear the Printers of others. He shows the care which he had taken to render the edition correct; but that his efforts were frustrated by the carelessness of the Printers, who, being tir'd with a days labour, correct their proofs imperfectly, and frequently neglect or omit the author's corrections.

IN the sequel of this history we shall have occasion to mention some *Errata's* of a much greater length than the foregoing, which *Fern* complains so loudly of, tho' this contain'd four large pages in *fol*. The two last Printers in this city before 1500 are:

14. *SIMON de Nicolo* of *Luca* 1478, who had been sometime partner to the fam'd *Uldric Han*, and of whom we have but one edition. And,

15. *PETER de Turre*, ann. 1490, in which year he printed *Ptolemy's Cosmography* in a large *folio* with maps and cutts, and in a beautiful character, [*Orland. p. 79.*] which is all that we have of his. We find about twenty more editions without Printer's names; however the reader will easily see by this list of Printers, and the scarcity of their works, that the Art began to dwindle very much before the close of the century; and if he consults *Mr. Mattaire* upon the next, he will find it still much thinner of both; but whether for want of encouragement, or what other cause, is not my business to enquire.

§. 2. *The City of Tours, 1467.*

TOURS is an Archiepiscopal city of *France*; in which we meet with but one book printed. This, 'tho done in an old *Gothick* character, (which was not as yet us'd in any place but *Mentz*) is so elegant, that it may be esteem'd a master-piece of that kind. 'Tis to be regretted, that the Printer of such an excellent work should be unknown. The impression was done in the Archbishop's palace; but if the reader upon that account, shall expect it to be a piece of devotion, he will be vastly mistaken; for it is not unusual with ecclesiasticks of the most elevated stations in that church, to have a greater relish for gallantry than religion. The book is the loves of *Camillus* and *Emilia*; to which is subjoin'd another upon the same subject, translated from *Boccacio* by *Aretin*, and is inscrib'd as follows.

FRANCISCI FLORII Florentini de Amore Camilli & *Æmilie* liber, expletus est Turonis, editus in domo Guillelmi Archiepiscopi Turonensis, anno millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo septimo, pridie calendas Januarii, 4to. De duobus Amantibus Libellus in latinum, ex *Boccacio*, transfiguratus per *Leonardum Aretinum*. This book is join'd to the former, and printed in the same character and form.

THE following book was printed in the same city a long time after, viz. *La vie & miracles de monseigneur St. Martin* translatee de Latin en Francois: imprimee par *Mathieu Lateron*, fol. 7me de May, *Tours*. 1496.

N. B. Tho' we design to treat in a distinct book of the introduction and progress of Printing in England; yet it is not amiss to remark here, that Oxford comes next in course to the city of *Tours*, according to our premis'd criterion of the oldest editions; for the most ancient impression printed in that university, is *St. Jerome's exposition of the apostles creed* 4to, bearing date ann. 1468, a copy of which is now in the Earl of *Pembroke's* library.

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§. 3. *The Town of Reutlingen, 1469.*

THIS town of *Reutlingen*, and the city of *Venice* are next; the former of which being nearer to *Mentz*, may so far be allow'd the first rank: It is a small town in the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, in which *John de Averbach* set up a Printing-house ann. 1466, and publish'd the two following editions;

1. BIBLIA Latina, fol. per *Johannem de Averbach*, 1469.
2. ALVARI Pelagii Hispani ordin. min. summa de planctu ecclesiæ Christianæ, *Reutlingæ*. 1474.

THIS is a very scarce book, and has not the Printer's name, but is nevertheless suppos'd to have been printed by *Averbach*: It is in fol. and the next edition of it was printed at *Ulm* ann. 1473. This *John Averbach* must not be confounded with the learned *J. Amerbach* of *Basil*, of whom we shall speak in its proper place.

C H A P. III.

The City of Venice, 1469; the Names, Character, &c. of the Printers who flourish'd in this City from ann. 1469, to Aldus Manutius's Time, 1494

AS the city of *Venice* has excelled all others, not only in the number of workmen and editions, but likewise in the goodness and excellency of them, I shall be forc'd to divide it into two chapters; in the first of which I shall speak of those Printers who flourish'd from its first settlement there by *John* and *Vindelin de Spira*, to the time of the great *Aldus Manutius*, whose merit alone will very well deserve to be spoken of in a chapter by it self, tho' there were no others to bear him company in it.

WITH respect to those first Printers, 'twill be superfluous to repeat here what I have said, in the introduction of this book, concerning
Nich.

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Nich. Jenson, and the reasons for suspending my judgment concerning his edition of 1461, and allowing the priority to the foregoing cities before that of *Venice*. There will be further occasion of speaking of that Printer, when we shall come to those other works of his, printed between the years 1470 and 1480. In the mean time I beg leave to remind the reader of the remark upon this head, which we just hinted in the introduction, viz. that the verses at the end of the first impression by *Jobⁿ* and *Windelin* of *Spire* ann. 1469, evidently prove them to have been the first who brought the Art to that city. The reader will find them in the margin. Mr. *Mattaire* who hath a particular regard for his countryman *Jenson*, and first discover'd to the world the edition in dispute, very justly intimates, that there was such an emulation among the first Printers, that they made no scruple of claiming the priority from each other, right or wrong; either by false dates, as we hinted before, or by pompous verses annex'd to their works; from which he infers a probability that these two brothers might do so: whereas *Jenson*, in his opinion was too modest, to have been guilty of such a piece of arrogance. For my part I can't see any necessity of accusing either side of such a fault, seeing they never charg'd each other with it; besides *Jenson* in all probability printed his book somewhere else, and therefore might indeed be too modest when he came to *Venice*, to challenge the priority from them as to that place in particular. However, as to the point of modesty, I own I am at a loss to what side to give it, seeing all the first impressions, both of *Jenson* and of the two brothers, are back'd with epigrams equally magnificent, and I don't see where there would have been the least immodesty in either to have ascertain'd a just claim, against an unjust assuming rival. Let me add, that (if there was any wilfull mistake on either side, which I think there was not) it is more probable *Jenson* should have committed it, than the two brothers; because he might easily, if there was occasion, excuse it by making his date pass for an error of impression; whereas the two *Germans* publish'd themselves, in words at length and

Primus in Adriaca formis impressit aenis
 Urbē libros *Spira* genitus de stirpe *Johannes*.
 In reliquis sit quanta, vides, spes, lector, habenda.
 Quam labor hic primus calami superaverit artem.
 MCCCCLXVIII.

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in the plainest terms, the first Printers at *Venice*, and so left no room for evasion. I shall therefore begin with them, who were not inferior to *Jenson* himself.

JOHN and VINDELIN OF SPIRE, 1469.

THEY were natives of *Germany*, but whether of the city of *Spire*, whose name they bear, or whether that was only their surname, I cannot determine; for tho' some of the epigrams annex'd to their books seem to imply the former, yet it is difficult to affirm certainly that it was not a poetical licence, which, in this case, might have been more excusable than that of *Campanus* upon *Ulric Han*, mention'd in the preceding chapter. However, 'tis plain that many of the *German* Printers had no other surnames than those of the places wherein they were born.

THESE two brothers soon surpass'd all their predecessors in the beauty and neatness of their characters, and the elegance of their impressions, which to this time render them admir'd and esteem'd by the curious, above all other ancient editions. *Venice* by this gain'd so much reputation for the fineness of her types, that some eminent Printers at *Rome* and elsewhere either furnish'd themselves with sets of them, or endeavour'd to imitate them, acquainting their readers in their next impressions, that they were printed *characteribus Venetianis*, with *Venetian* types. *Chevillier* indeed thinks this to have been an imposition upon the world; nor can it be denied but that some of them pretended this, in order to recommend their own wretched performances. But this demonstrates the superior merit of that city, and the laudable emulation of her Printers, not only to excell those of other places, but even one another. And indeed these two brothers with *John de Cologn* and *N. Jenson*, seem to have brought the Art to its utmost perfection, because none of the most famous Printers which succeeded till our time, such as *Vascosan*, the *Stephens's*, &c. have surpass'd them in this respect; as well as because this, like other arts, seem'd obnoxious to a certain fatality and decline, when carried to a particular height, as it happen'd in the space of six or seven years after their first settlement at *Venice*. What I mean is, that they should so unaccountably suffer themselves to be carry'd away by the degenerate

taste

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taste of that age, and change their beautiful Roman character, for the old, obsolete and disagreeable Gothick, which they began to print with about the year 1477.

THE *Spires* had the two following learned men for their correctors, viz. *Christopher Berardus* of *Pisauro*, and *George Alexandrinus*; *John*, the elder brother, is reported to be the first who put the direction-word at the end of the page, and that upon good grounds, since no book, to our knowledge, before his *Tacitus*, hath it; the singular use of which is too obvious to want explanation. He liv'd no longer than to the year 1470, and was succeeded in the whole business by *Windelin*, who manag'd it with great applause by himself 'till 1472, in which year he took *John de Cologn* into partnership with him. We find but one book, viz. *Plautus*, printed by them jointly; so that it is probable each of them return'd soon after to his separate press. This *Windelin* was so highly esteem'd as a Printer even by his own countrymen, (a thing very uncommon!) that he was twice invited into *Germany* by some eminent counsellors at law of that nation, to print there the following considerable volumes, viz. 1. *Bartholi commentarium juridicum*, which he perform'd ann. 1471, without the name of the place, adding only two verses inserted in the margin¹; and 2. The commentaries upon the five books of *Decretals* of *Nic. Tudeschi* of *Sicily*, firnam'd *Abbas Panormitanus*, ann. 1474²; he printed likewise in *Germany*, about the same time, the first edition of the *Tractatus Tractatum sive Oceanus Juris* 15 vol. fol. But as he had engag'd himself, presently after his brother's death, not to leave *Venice*, (as appears by the verses at the end of *St. Austin de civitate Dei*, ann. 1470³ begun, but not finish'd by his brother,) he return'd thither, and continued printing with prodigious honour till the year 1477, wherein he began to fall in with the Gothick character beforemention'd. In this he was followed by all the rest, and even by the celebrated *Nic. Jenson*, tho' this last still preserv'd the beauty and neatness of his forms, which the others very much

¹ Hos *Windelinus* clara virtute magister
Transcripsit; ceteri formula pressa pede.

Maittaire Annal. Typogr. p. 94, sub not. (6)
² Vide *Orlandi* pag. 19.

³ Qui docuit *Venerabilis* exscribi posse *Johannes*
Mense fere trino centena volumina *Plini*,
Et totidem magni *Ciceronis* *Spira* libellos;

Cœperat *Aureli*, subita sed morte peremptus

Non potuit cœptum *Venerabilis* finire volumen.

Windelinus adest ejusdem frater, & arte

Non minor: *Adriacæ* morabitur urbe.

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degenerated from. About this time *Windelin* probably dy'd, because we meet with no impression of his that bears a date later than 1477. Such was the esteem the learned had of this excellent Printer, that of *twenty eight* impressions we have extant of his, above *twenty* of them have a *latin* epigram at the end in praise of him; some of which are of a considerable length, and most of them by different hands. The first edition is that of *Cicero's Epistolæ familiares*, ann. 1469; the last we know of with a date, is *Dante's Poems*, ann. 1477; some of his editions are without date.

3. NICHOLAS JENSON, JANSON or GENSON, 1470.

NICH. JENSON is allow'd by the generality of writers to have been a Frenchman; and as he was one of the first of that nation, who was eminent in this Art, all his countrymen have been more than ordinarily lavish of their praises on him; so that whoever reads some of their encomiums, would be apt to think him the only Printer of merit in that age, and that there had never been any edition worth their consideration, 'till it came out of his press; and this they did, even before they so much as dreamt of that early master-piece of his, the *Decor Puellarum*: we need not therefore wonder at Mr. *Mattaire*, if we find him so highly pleas'd at the discovery of this singular work; for it must be own'd, that unless we will dispute the date of it, the highest encomiums must fall short of his merit; since it will plainly follow, that he was not only the earliest by some years, who improv'd the Art, but likewise who brought it to its greatest perfection, with respect to the fineness of his Roman characters, and elegancy of composition. Whereas were the supposition of those, who think it antedated by *ten* years, to be allow'd, it will be manifest that there had already been several eminent Printers at *Rome, Venice*, and elsewhere before him, who introduc'd that noble and elegant character; and that tho' his should be allow'd to be somewhat finer than those of his predecessors, yet would his merit be inferior to theirs, and his improvement upon them be but small in comparison of that, which they made upon the old *Moguntine* types. However that be, I acknowledge with the greatest freedom and sincerity, that he was an excellent master of the Art, and his impressions as beautiful, and, for the last *ten* years space, wherein

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wherein he follow'd the business, as numerous as any of his contemporaries. *Polydore Vergil* highly commends him for having so wonderfully improv'd the Art of Printing, and *Sabellicus* owns, that he and his partner *John de Cologn*, excell'd all the Printers of their time, in the richness and elegance of their impressions¹. The learned *Omnibonus Leoniceus*, who prepar'd copies for him, and corrected some of his editions, hath, in an epistle to the bishop of *Belluno*, left us an excellent character of him, prefix'd to his *Quintilian* anno 1471². wherein he extols his types, and mentions him as a second *Dædalus*, and as one to whom the greatest share of this invention was due.

THE learned therefore are very justly surpriz'd, that so excellent a master and so great an ornament to the Art of Printing should be the first who brought the Gothic character to *Venice*, in which he printed his bibles, divinity, and law-books. This method was follow'd by all his brethren, both in that city, and in several others of *Europe*; tho' it must be own'd that he far surpass'd the rest even in that respect, and shew'd a more exact taste and judgment; for his Gothic types had all the beauty and elegance, which they were capable of, and may be still read with pleasure and admiration.

I don't find that he had any other corrector besides *Omnibon. Leoniceus* above-mention'd, if we except *Franciscus Colutia Verzinensis*, who in his dedication prefix'd to the work of *Palladius de Agricultura*, of which he was the editor, tells *Jenson* to whom he dedicates it, that it was at his desire that he had undertaken to correct that work. By this it seems as if *Jenson* was the first printer who had any of his impressions dedicated to himself. Most of his works, like those of the two *German* brothers, have a *latin* epigram at the end in praise of him; but, what is remarkable, not one of them speaks of him as the first *Venetian* Printer,

¹ Sed omnium maxime opibus & eleganti literarum forma multum cæteros antecelluerunt *Nicholaus Jenson* & *Johannes Colonius*: *Sabellicus*. *Enead.* 10. 16

² Accedebant justæ preces magistri Nicolai Jenson Gallici, alterius, ut vere dicam, *Dædali*, qui librariæ artis mirabilis inventor, non ut

scribantur calamo libri, sed veluti gemma imprimantur, ac prope sigillo, primus omnium ingeniose monstravit: ut huic viro, qui de re literaria tam bene meruit, nemo sit qui non favere debeat. Idcirco non difficulter impetravit ut non solum hoc opus, verum etiam utramque *Ciceronis* artem corrigerem.

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which circumstance alone would be sufficient to justify us for postponing him to them. We meet with four of his editions printed in one year, viz. 1470, which shews him to have been a very diligent work-man. And in the space of ten years, we have thirty-nine of them, still extant; exclusive of the *Decor Puellarum*, besides those which may have been lost, or are still undiscover'd. The first edition printed by him in Gothic character, is St Austin's book *de Civitate Dei*, anno 1475. the two last of his works are dated 1481.

4. CHRISTOPHER WALDARFER OF RATISBON, 1470.

CONCERNING this Printer we know little, except that we have four of his editions still extant corrected by *Ludovicus Carbo* or *Carbone*: the third of which viz. *Servius Comment. on Virgil* fol. anno 1471, has an epigram of four latin distichs in his praise, by which we may guess that he printed a great many more works than these four, especially *Classicks*. The last of them, viz. *Pliny's Epistles*, hath neither the name of the Printer nor place; but by a dedication prefix'd to it by the said *Carbo* to *Borso* duke of *Modena*, one may conclude it to have been done by *Waldarfer*. He remov'd from *Venice* soon after, and set up a Printing-house at *Milan*, where we shall find him, when we come to that place.

5, 6. JOHN de COLOGN, & JOHN MANTHEN de GERETZEN. 1471.

THESE two Germans came and settled at *Venice*, soon after the two *Spires*, and were equal to any of their contemporaries, in the beauty of their Roman types, the fineness of their paper, and elegance and correctness of their works. But they likewise gave into the Gothic way of printing; and it is observable that *Venice* and *Lyons* have produc'd more of those impressions, than almost all *Italy* and *France* together. Whether these Printers were more modest than their brethren, is uncertain; but, however, in the list of their editions, we meet with none of those pompous epigrams and panegyricks upon themselves, so frequently us'd at that time. They took *Nic. Jenson* into partnership with them, towards the later part of their printing. *John de Cologn* is affirm'd by some

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some to have invented the *Registrum Chartarum* about anno 1475; but it is obvious to the reader, from the catalogue of *Uldric Han's* works at *Rome*, that the latter us'd it at least two years before him.

THERE is one thing remarkable in one of their colophons, at the end of their editions of *Valerius Maximus*, fol. anno 1474; and which, for that reason, I have subjoyn'd in the margin¹: that they were rather book-sellers than Printers: because they acquaint the readers in it, that they had given this work to be printed by men hir'd for that purpose. We shall meet with many more in the sequel of this history, who follow'd their example.

HOWEVER it must be own'd, that all the works that came out of their presses, or were printed for them, are an honour to them: the last list of their editions according to father *Orlandi* amounts to 28, from ann. 1471 to 1481.

As we know little or nothing concerning the following ones, besides their names and their works; we shall just mention them in their rank, according to the date of the works we have of them.

7. ANTONY BOLOGNESE, or *Antonio de Bartolomeo, de Bologna*, 1472. we have five editions of his from 1472, to 1486.

8. LEONARD ACHATES of *Basil*, 1472. 1 edition.

9. GABRIEL de *Pietro* of *Treviso*, 1473. 6 edit. to 1478.

10. FRANCIS de *Hailbrun* and
11. NICOL. de *Francford* } 1473. 3 edit. to 1475.

12. BARTOLOMEW CREMONESE, 1473. 3 edit. to 1475.

13. JAMES des *Rouges* 1474.

THIS was his true name, he being a *Frenchman*, tho' in his *latin* editions he writes himself *Jacobus Rubeus* or *de Rubeis*; and in his *Italian* ones *di Rossi* and *Rossi*: He was justly esteem'd one of the best Printers in his time. 'Tis affirm'd by some that he assisted *Nic. Jenson* in improving his *Roman* characters; but this is improbable, because it doth not appear, that he came to *Venice* 'till two or three years, at least, after the other had publish'd some of his fine editions. However, the beauty of his letter, and the fineness of his impressions are incomparable; particularly the two

¹ Venetiis impressoribus expositus fuit per *restheim*, MCCCCLXXIV, qui una fideliter vi-
Joh. de Cologn. Agrippin. ac Joh. Manshen de Gher- ventes, eosdem impressores ad hoc duxerunt.

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histories of *Florence* in *Italian*, one written by *Leonard de Arezo*, and the other by *Poggius*, are accounted master-pieces in that kind. At length he left *Venice*, and settled at *Pignerol* in *Piedmont*, where he printed an *Italian Bible*, the satyrs of *Juvenal*, and some other work, which we shall speak of in its proper place. There is one thing more to enhance his merit, which is, that he comply'd not with the degenerate taste of those times, in introducing the Gothic characters into his Printing-house; his impressions from *anno* 1474 to 1476, are ten in number.

14. CHRISTOPHER ARNOLD: we have but two editions of his from 1474 to 1478.

15. ANDREAS JACOBI of *Cathara*; 5 editions from 1476 to 1482.

16. MARC. de *Conti* and } 1 edit. 1476.

17. GERARD ALEXANDER }

18. BERNARD PICTOR and } 5 edit. from 1476 to 1477.

19. ERHARD RALDOLT of *Ausburg*, }

20. GERARD de *Flandria*, 1 edit. 1477.

21. JAMES LUNESE de *Fivizano*, 2 edit. 1477.

22. PHILIP PETRI or de *Petro*, *Venetian*, 13 edit. from 1477 to 1482.

23. GUERIN the young, 1 edit. 1477.

24. ANDREAS de *Patafichis* and } 8 edit. from 1478 to 1488.

25. BONINO de *Boninis* }

26. MARTIN SARACEN, 3 edit. from 1478 to 1488.

27. LEONARD WILD de *Ratisbon*, 3 edit. from 1478 to 1481.

28. FRANC. RENNER de *Hailbrun*, 5 edit. from 1478 to 1494.

29. THEODORIC de *Reynsberg* and } 2 edit. 1478,

30. REYNALD de *Novimagio* }

31. GEORGE WALCH *German*, 1 edit. 1479.

32. NICHOLAS GERARDENGO, 2 edit. from 1479 to 1480.

REYNALD de *Novimagio* by himself, 7 edit. from 1479 to 1494.

ERHARD RALDOLT by himself, 13 edit. from 1480 to 1485, after this he went to his own city *Ausburgh*, and set up his press there, as we have said under that head.

33. PETER PIASII } 11 edit. from 1480 to 1495.

34. BARTHOL. BLAVII }

35. ANDREA TORRESANI de *Azola* }

36. JOHN

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36. JOHN LUCILIUS SANTRITER and }
 37. FRANCIS THEODORE } 3 edit. 1480 to 1489.

38. OCTAVIAN SCOT was a nobleman of the city of *Mons*, who set up some pressies at *Venice* at his own charge, and printed a great number of curious editions, all which are marked with O. S. M. his chief corrector was *Maurice de Hibernia*, or of *Ireland*, a Franciscan monk, who was afterwards made bishop of *Triamo*: all the editions we have of *Octavian Scot* are 39, from ann. 1480 to 1498.

THE chief workmen he employ'd to print for him are the three following,

39. CHRISTOPHER PENSI,
 40. BENNET LOCATELLUS,
 41. BARTHOLOMEW ZANI.

THE last of these did likewise print for himself, and we have 15 editions of his printed with his own name, from 1487 to 1500.

42. JOHN *de Forlivio* and } these two printed 26 edit. from 1481 to
 43. GREGORY *de Gregoriis* } 1500.

44. LUCAS *de Dominico*, *Venetian*, 5. edit. from 1481 to 1482.

45. BAPTISTA *de Tortis*, 18 edit. from 1481 to 1498.

46. THOMAS of *Alexandria* and partners, 6 edit. from 1481 to 1486.

47. ANTONY *dalla Strada Cremonese*, 10 edit. from 1481 to 1488.

48. MATHEW CAPCASA of *Parma*, 10 edit. from 1481 to 1495.

49. ANTONY PAP and

50. BERNARDIN MORENI *de Lecho* } 1 edit. 1482.

51. PETER LOSLEIN *German*, he was both partner and corrector to *Bernard Piſtor* and *Erhard Raldolt* at *Venice*, we have two editions printed with his name both 1483.

52. BERNARDIN BENATIO, or *de Benateis*, 12 edit. from 1483 to 1498.

53. PETER MAUFER a Frenchman and }
 54. NICHOL. *de Contengo* of *Ferrara* } 1 edit. 1483.

MAUFER was a very good Printer, but mov'd often from place to place; he began first to work at *Padua*, then went to *Verona*, and afterwards came to *Venice*: where we find but one single edition done by him.

55. HERMAN LITCHENSTEIN in *latin Levilapis*; this was another unsettled workman, he wrought at *Vincenza*, *Treviso*, and now at *Venice*; where we have 5 edit. of his, from 1483 to 1494.

56. AN-

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56. ANDREA BONETTI *de Pavia*, 3 edit. from 1484 to 1486.
57. PEREGRIN PASQUALI and } 12 edit. from 1484
58. DIONIS BERTOCH, or *de Bertochis* of *Bolonia* } to 1494.
59. PAGANINUS *de Paganinis*, 7 edit. from 1485 to 1498.
60. BERNARD STAGNINO *de Trino*, 5 edit. from 1485 to 1498.
61. ANTONY RACTIBOVIVS, 1 edit. 1485.
62. ALEXANDER CRETENSIS, he was a native of *Crete*, the only work we have of him, is a *Greek Psalter* 4to ann. 1486, with a *latin colophon*, in which he styles himself, *Filius sapientissimi & celeberrimi Domini Georgii Presbyteri*.
63. WILLIAM *de Trino* firnam'd *Anima mia*, 5 edit. from 1486 to 1491.
64. BERNARD RIZZI *de Novara*, 10 edit. from 1486 to 1492, it is to be observ'd, that his five first, *i. e.* from 1486 to 1489, are subscrib'd only *Bernard de Novara*, and the five last *Bern. Rizzi de Novara*, which has made some authors question whether they were not two different Printers: his corrector was *Dominic Canali*.
65. LEONICUS CRETENSIS, of him we have only *Homer's Batrachomomachia*, or battle of the frogs and mice in *greek*, *cum græcis scholiis* 4to, ann. 1486.
66. PETER CREMONESE firnam'd *Veronese*, 2 edit. from 1486 to 1490.
67. JOHN ROUGES *alias Rubeus, Rossi*, 9 edit. from 1486 to 1499.
68. JOHN HAMMAN *de Landoja* } 4 edit. from 1487 to 1500.
69. JOHN EMERICH *de Udenhem* }
70. HANIBAL *de Parma*, 1 edit. 1487.
71. THEODOR. RAGAZONI *alias de Ragazonibus*, 6 edit. from 1488 to 1500.
72. BERNARDINE *de Choris Cremonese*, 9 edit. from 1488 to 1492.
73. GEORGE ARRIVABENUS of *Mantua*, 4 edit. from 1488 to 1492.
74. CHRISTOPHER *de Pensis de Mandello*, 11 edit. from 1489 to 1500.
75. BERNARDINE *de Renatis*, 1 edit. 1490.
76. JAMES PAGANINI of *Brescia*, 1 edit. 1490.
77. PHILIP PINCIUS *de Caneto*, this was a very diligent as well as excellent Printer: he continu'd printing 'till after the year 1510 with great applause:

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applause: his corrector was the learned *Bennet Brugnoli*, a man very well versed in the *greek* and *latin* tongues; his works from 1490 to 1500 are 24 in number.

78. THOMAS *de Blancis* of *Alexandria*, 1 edit. 1491.
79. SIMON *de Gara*, only a *latin* bible, 1491.
80. LAZARUS *de Siviliano*, 2 edit. from 1491 to 1492.
81. MANFRED. *de Montferrat*, 2 edit. from 1491 to 1492.
82. MAXIMUS *de Butricis* of *Pavia*, 1 edit. 1491.
83. FRANCIS GERARDENGO of *Pavia*, 1 edit. 1492.
84. JOHN *de Cereto de Tridino* surnam'd *Tacuino*, 23 edit. from 1492 to 1500.
85. BARTHOL. VENETUS *de Ragazzonibus*, 1 edit. 1492.
86. SIMON BEVILAQUA citizen of *Pavia*, 21 edit. from 1492 to 1500; he wrought also at *Pavia*, as we shall see when we come to that city.
87. JOHN PETER *de Querengis*, 5 edit. from 1492 to 1498.
88. DAMIAN *de Milan*, 2 edit. from 1493 to 1494.
89. MARTIN *de Rovado de Lazaronibus*, 1 edit. 1493.
90. JEROM *de Paganinis*, 2 edit. 1493 to 1497.
91. JOHN RAGAZZO and }
92. JOHN MARIA } 1 edit. 1494.
93. PERRIN LATHOMI, 1 edit. 1494, besides a Bible he printed at Lyons, 1479.
94. BERNARDINE VITATIS of *Venice*, 14 edit. from 1494 to 1500.

C H A P. IV.

Aldus Pius Manutius Romanus a Venetian Printer, and the Inventor of Italick Letters; his Life, Character and Greek Editions, with an Account of the other Printers at Venice, till the Year 1500.

ALDUS MANUTIUS, the most eminent Printer of the fifteenth century, was born *anno* 1445, when Printing was yet in its infancy; who as he grew up, became such an admirer of this new Art, that

that tho' his education, learning and genius might have justly excited him to greater employments, yet he chose to devote his whole time and study to the cultivating and improving all the branches of it. This design he perform'd with such indefatigable application and vast charges, that his whole ambition seem'd to be confin'd to this province and the advancement of learning¹. After he had receiv'd the rudiments of Grammar, under *Gaspar of Verona*, he apply'd himself to the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues under the great *Baptista Guarini of Verona*; and in a short time made such a progress in these languages, as not only to surpass his fellow-students, but even to rival his master himself. Thus he continued furnishing his mind with every part of literature, in order to fit himself for that business, of which he was afterwards to become the ornament. The war breaking out in *Italy*, and the city of *Ferrara* being besieged, he removed from thence to *Mirandula*, where he became acquainted with the great *Picus* of that name, a prince of the brightest genius that age had produc'd, and one of the greatest lovers of learning, and of learned men, who not only receiv'd him with open arms, but procur'd him the acquaintance of many learned men, by whose conversation and correspondence, *Aldus* receiv'd no small advantage toward the acquiring that great knowledge of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, which he became afterwards so famous for. In the 45th year of his age, anno 1490, he began to prepare the necessary apparatus of a Printing-house, wherein he spent four years, and consequently did not begin Printing till about anno 1494. During this interval he observ'd with regret to what degree the abbreviations, us'd by all the former Printers every where, were multiply'd; so that they became unintelligible, without some key to direct the reader, an instance of which is given in the margin². Upon this, he consider'd a method to remedy this inconve-

¹ *Omnem enim vitam decrevimus ad hominum utilitatem consumere—nam etsi quietam ac tranquillam agere vitam possumus, negotiosam tamen eligimus & plenam laboribus.* *Ald. p. 121. ad Loscar. Creten.*

² This curious example of the abbreviations, us'd in those times, is extracted from *Okam's* logick, folio verso, leaf 121, as follows;

Sic hic & falsum quod ad simpliciter & e producibile a deo g & d & c. sic hic a n & g a n & e producibile a deo

&c. which words printed at full length, will run thus; *Sic: hic est fallacia secundum quid ad simpliciter, A est producibile a deo. Ergo A est, & similiter hic. A non est, ergo non est producibile a deo. Vide Chevill p. 110.*

These abbreviations were grown in time so numerous and universal, that books were oblig'd to be publish'd to teach the method of reading and understanding them.

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nience, and set them quite aside in his editions. But because the printing the words at length would enlarge the volumes a fourth part, (for there was scarce one word in five that was not abridg'd) and encrease the price; he resolv'd likewise to remedy that. To which end he invented the *Italick* character, call'd from him *Aldine*, or *Cursivus* and *Cancellarius*, from its resemblance to hand-writing; which by its figure and closeness, gain'd as much upon the round Roman, as the abbreviations did, and reduc'd the volume to near an exact bulk, thereby rendering them absolutely useles. This is the main, tho' not the sole advantage, which he propos'd by this new character; for the world has since found its extraordinary usefulness in many other respects; which being obvious to every person, I shall not particularise here, but mention only the agreeableness of a mixture of Roman and Italick. However, it must be own'd, that *Aldus* made too great use of the latter, in printing whole volumes in that character, which is known to tire the eyes much more than the Roman. Upon this account several eminent Printers afterwards rejected it in their quotations, when they were of any considerable length, and substituted Double comma's or Guillemets at one end of the lines, to distinguish the citations from the body of the book: which Guillemets were so call'd from their Inventor, a *French* Printer of that name.

To return to *Aldus*; as soon as he had perfected this new character, which must necessarily cost him prodigious summs of money, he obtain'd a privilege from three several Popes, for the sole use of them during the space of *fifteen* years; and these pontifs give him great encomiums upon the account of this invention. The first of these was granted him by *Alexander VI*, and is dated *Sept. 17 1502*, with the following preface¹.
 „ For as much as our beloved son *Aldus Manucius Romanus* hath, for the
 „ common benefit of the learned, invented a new sett of characters, and
 „ been at vast pains and charges in correcting and printing of books, —
 „ and is afraid lest some thro' envy or emulation should get patterns

¹ Quoniam dilectus filius noster *Aldus Manucius Romanus* ad communem doctorum utilitatem, novis excogitatis characterum formis, assiduum operam libris emendandis imprimendisque impendit, magnosque in ea re labores sumptusque facit, vereturque ne insurgente invidia æmu-

lationeque excitata, aliqui, sumpto de ejus characteribus exemplo, ad eandem formam libros imprimant, deque alterius invento novum sibi lucrum quærant; ideo nobis fecit humiliter supplicari, &c.

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„ of his characters and print with them, thereby reaping the benefit of
 „ another man's invention; he hath therefore humbly besought us, &c. „

HE obtain'd the like privilege from Pope *Julius II*, within four months after the first, viz. *Jan. 27 1503*, which begins thus; „ For as much
 „ as thou — hast been at the pains to print with such diligence and ele-
 „ gancy, within these few years, and for the common benefit of all the
 „ learned, many *greek* and *latin* volumes, corrected and revis'd with the
 „ utmost care and diligence, in those new characters, which are vulgar-
 „ ly known by the name of *Curfivi* and *Cancellarii*, and are so beauti-
 „ ful as to seem written by hand, &c.

HIS successor *Leo X*, likewise granted him a brief to the same purpose within ten months after, expressly prohibiting any person to print in or imitate that character during the space of *fifteen years*¹.

'TIS apparent from the tenour of these briefs, that this Italick character was not the only particular, wherein *Aldus* signaliz'd himself; for the number and correctness of his editions, with the beauty of his characters, gain'd him the esteem and admiration of the learned; nor need I tell the reader how highly all his works have been valued ever since, as well as those of his son *Paulus Manucius*, of his son-in-law *Andreas Azolanus*, and his grandson *Aldus*; which are of equal merit with his own, and of equal value. His ambition of being esteem'd not only a man of letters, (as he really was,) but also the most correct Printer of the age, was such, that he spar'd no cost in procuring the best MSS, nor labour in revising them; and his care was so great, lest any errors should escape him either in the MS. or proofs, that, as we are assur'd by *Angel. Roccha*, keeper of the *Vatican* library, he would not allow himself to print above two sheets in a week². But this must be understood only of such works, as re-

¹ Cum tu — Græcorum & Latinorum auctorum volumina summa cura & diligentia castigata, a paucis annis, ad communem omnium litteratorum utilitatem, characteribus, quos vulgus *Curfivos* seu *Cancellarios* appellas, imprimi tam diligenter & pulchre curaveris, ut calamo conscripta esse videantur, &c.

² Ne per spatium quindecim annorum iis characteribus, quos ipse invenit vel edidit pri-

mus, imprimere — neve characteres, quos *Curfivos* seu *Cancellarios* appellant, imitari præsumant, &c.

³ Audiavi ab iis qui cum eo versati sunt — duo ad summum folia singula quaque hebdomada imprimi solere; cum hodie totidem fere in singulo quoque prælo quotidie cudantur. *Ang. Roc. de bibliotheca Vaticana*, pag. 412.

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quir'd a more than ordinary diligence and application ; otherwise it were difficult to reconcile this with what *Aldus* says in his preface to *Euripides* ann. 1503¹, that he publish'd some good author every month, of which he printed above a thousand copies ; or with what *Erasmus* says of him in his proverbs² ; that he was erecting a library, whose limits would be those of the world it self. However that be, his accuracy and diligence is unquestionably attested by all the learned ; and he tells Pope *Leo X*, in his petition beforemention'd, that the height of his ambition was to present the world with authors, corrected with the utmost exactness ; and that nothing was more mortifying to him, than to see any faults in his impressions, every one of which he would gladly, if possible, have redeem'd at the price of a crown of gold³. What assistance he had from the learned in correcting his books may be gather'd from his preface to the Greek edition of *Aristotle's Logick*, where he assures us, that he had some of the ablest criticks with him, to assist in the correction ; and in the preface to the physics of that philosopher, he boasts, that his impressions were more perfect and correct than the very originals from which they were printed⁴.

BUT it must be own'd that the learned are far from granting him this last piece of merit, which he challenges ; and some of them have objected, that he either printed them not according to the best manuscripts, or corrected them by his own conjectures, or follow'd sometimes too scrupulously those which were faulty and imperfect. Upon this account *Erasmus*, tho' a great friend of his, complains that *Michael Bentius*, who printed his proverbs, had follow'd the corrupt editions of Aldus in the quotations from *Homer* and *Cicero*⁵. The same author tells *John Betzemius*, in a letter sent with a catalogue of his works, that some of *Plutarch's* books were printed by Aldus after some very corrupt manuscript⁶. Yet he excu-

¹ Quandoquidem mille & amplius boni alicujus auctoris volumina singulo quoque mense emittimus.

² Aldus bibliothecam molitur, ejus non alia septa sunt quam ipsius orbis. *Erasmi. Chil. 2. Cent. 1. Prov. 1.*

³ Sic doleo, ut, si possem, mutarem singula errata nummo aureo.

⁴ Dicere queo, quicquid meo labore formis excuditur, ipsis exemplaribus longe correctius

ac magis perfectum exire ex ædibus nostris.

⁵ Nam Michael Bentius contulit quædam loca a me citata ex Græco Homero ab Aldo excuso, item ex Cicerone Aldino, cum Aldina sint depravatissima. *Vita Erasmi, Lugdun. Batav. in 16º, pag. 173.*

⁶ Hoc unum erat incommodi, quod Aldus hoc opus excudit secundum exemplar multis locis depravatum. *Tom. 1. oper. Erasmi.*

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ses him in another letter¹, and lays the blame upon some *Pedagogue*, whom Aldus intrusted with the care of some of the editions of ancient authors. If this be fact, 'tis very much to be regretted, that so great a Printer, to whom the republick of learning is in all other respects so much oblig'd, should be overseen in a matter of such importance. And this, in all probability, is the reason why he thus expresse his dissatisfaction at his own editions, in the petition to the Pope beforemention'd; ² that he was so far from regarding the flatteries of some persons, that he had not as yet publish'd one book, with which he could be satisfied².

BESIDES this, he carries his complaints still further, and inveighs loudly against two sorts of men, who alone are capable of depriving the learned world of the benefit of printing, unless some speedy stop be put to their wretched performances: the first are those, who, notwithstanding their notorious ignorance and incapacity, presume to print any kind of books: the second are the half learned editors, who not only venture upon publishing ancient authors, but likewise write notes and commentaries with their own corrections upon them. Thus was this great man concern'd to see the corruptions already crept into the Art, thro' the avarice of some, and ignorance of others; whilst himself found by sad experience, that all his care, as well as learning, was scarce sufficient for such a task. As no Printer ever surpass'd him in the latter, so none ever equall'd him in the former; for so indefatigable was he in that laborious province, that he scarce allow'd himself time to eat, sleep, or attend his domestick affairs; and, which is still more, was so regardless of his health, as to neglect those pleasures and recreations so necessary and conducive to the preservation of it. The learned Zuinger, in his *Theatrum vitæ humanæ* p. 3713 of the *Basil* edition 1604, tells us, that his mind was entirely engaged in the care of his Printing-house; that, as soon as he had order'd his other necessary affairs, he shut himself up in his study, where he employ'd himself in revising his *greek* and *latin* manuscripts, reading the letters which he receiv'd from the learned out of all parts of the world, and writing

¹ Officina Veneta dedit nobis *Festum Pompeium* egregie depravatum; non infimulo Aldum; solet ille tales operas alicui *Pædagogo* commit-

tere. Pag. 148, supradict. edit. *Lugdun. Batav.*

² Sed ego non credulus illis; nullum enim adhuc dedi librum, in quo mihi ipsi satisfecerim.

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answers to them. To prevent interruption by impertinent visits, he caus'd the following inscription to be plac'd over his closet door¹; *Whoever you are, Aldus earnestly intreats you to dispatch your business, as soon as possible, and then depart; unless you come hither, like another Hercules, to lend him some friendly assistance; for here will be work sufficient to employ you, and as many as enter this place.* These words were afterwards borrow'd by the learned Oporinus, (who from a professor of the greek tongue in the university of Basil, became one of the most eminent Printers, either of that city, or even of Europe;) and were set over his study door for the same intent.

ALDUS is affirm'd by many authors to have been the first who printed whole volumes in greek, particularly the learned Henry Stephens, asserts, both in the *Complaint of the Art of Printing* written by him, and in his epitaph upon Aldus, that he was the first Printer in that language²; and Gesner tells Paul Manutius Aldus's son, in the 11th book of his *Pandects*, that if he is not mistaken, there were no greek books printed before those of his father, or at least, not with equal beauty and correctness with his³. Tho' this is not strictly true, as we shall immediately shew, yet as he was the greatest Printer in greek, and inventor of a beautiful character, these and several other authors might easily attribute to him the first rank in this province. The first greek book was publish'd by him, anno 1494, as appears by the lists, which the annalists give us of his works, and from what Aldus himself says, in his preface to *Stephanus de urbibus*, anno 1502⁴, that he begun his first greek impressions in the year wherein the war in Italy commenc'd, viz. anno 1494, at the time of the expedition of Charles VIII king of France to seize upon the kingdom of Naples. Some writers, from a mistaken passage in his preface to *Aristotle*, anno 1495, wherein he tells his patron Prince Carpi, that he presents him with the prince of philosophers, Plato excepted, now first printed and very correct, have thought

¹ Quisquis es, rogat te Aldus etiam atque etiam, ut siquid est quod a se velis, per paucis agas, deinde actutum abeas, nisi tanquam Hercules veneris suppositurus humeros; semper enim erit quod & tu agas, & quotquot huc attulerint pedes.

² Qui graphicis primus tradidit illa typis.

³ Exemplaria Græca ante patrem tuum aut nulla, ni fallor, aut pauca, nec ea industria typis publicata sunt.

⁴ Eodem anno, quo vexari bello coepit Italia, difficillimam hanc ego imprimendorum librorum provinciam accepi.

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It to have been his first *greek* impressi^on; whereas he publish'd at least *three* the year before. However 'tis plain he had printed no book in any language before *anno* 1494.

It appears from what has been said in a former chapter concerning the *Lactantius* printed in the monastery of *Subiaco*, *anno* 1465, the *Gellius* at *Rome* 1469, and others, that several considerable fragments were printed in *greek* with no small elegancy and correctness. But besides these there were several editions in that language printed in divers cities of *Italy* some years before; the principal of which we shall mention.

THE first, as yet known, is the *greek* grammar of *Constantine Lascaris* 4to, revis'd by *Demetrius Cretenfis*, and printed by *Dionysius Palavissinus* at *Milan*, *anno* 1476, afterwards reprinted at *Venice* by *Leonard of Basil*, *anno* 1488.

THE next is the *greek* psalter printed at *Venice*, *anno* 1486 by *Alexander of Crete* 4to, and *Homer's Batrachomyomachia*, or battle between the frogs and mice 4to, at *Venice* by *Leonic of Crete* in the same year. But as these may be esteem'd only preludes or essays in that language, we shall come to a more considerable edition, viz. that of *Homer's* works in *greek*, which *B. Neril* caus'd to be printed at *Florence* in a large folio, *anno* 1488 by *Demetrius of Milan*, a native of *Crete*. This excellent work I have seen in the curious library of the learned *Dr. Mead*, and I dare affirm that whoever examines the whiteness and strength of the paper, the fineness of the character, the elegant disposition of the matter, the exact distance between the lines, the large margin, and in short, the whole performance with its various ornaments, will easily own it a master-piece in that kind. There was likewise a fine edition of *Isocrates* printed at *Milan* in fol. by *Henry German* and *Sebastian ex Pontremulo*, *anno* 1493, a year before any of *Aldus's* impressi^ons appear'd.

HOWEVER, tho' he was not the first *greek* Printer, yet no person ever signaliz'd himself more in that province than he, nor equall'd him in beauty, correctness and number of editions. Concerning the beauty of his *greek* characters, of which he is said to be the inventor, *Mr. Mattaire* tells us pag. 237, *Annal. Typogr.* that those, in which he printed the *Psalter*, *Æsop*, *Aristotle*, *Aristophanes*, &c. were somewhat larger, rounder, more beautiful and elegant, adorn'd with frequent ligatures, which added no small beauty

beauty to his *Greek* editions, &c. Nor is this the only particular, for which the learned world is so much oblig'd to him; since his designs reach'd still farther, and were answer'd to his great satisfaction before his death, which happen'd *anno 1515*. He observ'd, with no small regret, how much and how long the *Greek* tongue had been neglected; in order therefore to revive that noble language, and accustom the learned by degrees to read nothing but the originals, he resolv'd to publish most of his books in *Greek* only. This succeeded so well, that the oldest men began to acquaint themselves with it, and as many youths engaged in the study of that tongue, as of the *Latin*; which gave him such sensible pleasure, that he mentions it in several of his prefaces, and particularly in that prefix'd to *Aristotle's Logic*, wherein he thus expresses himself: „ In our days we may see many old gentlemen, who follow *Cato's* example in learning the *Greek* tongue. For with respect to the youth, they equally apply themselves to that, as to the *Latin*. Upon which account *Greek* books, of which there is now a prodigious scarcity, are come into very great request, &c. „ In his preface to *Stephanus de urbibus* he observes with pleasure², „ That *Italy* was not the only nation wherein the *Greek* tongue was in vogue; but that in *Germany, France, Hungary, Britain, Spain*, and almost every place, where the *Latin* was known, not only the young, but even the old study'd *Greek* with the utmost eagerness, and application.

ALL his impressions were not of that nature; for in some of them, printed before and afterwards, as *Musæus, Greek grammar, Proclus's Sphæra*, the works of *Philostratus, Eusebius contra Hieroclem*, &c. he first gave the whole *Greek* text, and then the *Latin* translation.

Soon after this, he invented a method, entirely new, of printing these *Greek* editions with their translations, which I do not find practis'd by any Printer since.

¹ Nostri vero temporibus multos licet videre *Catones*: hoc est, senes in senectute Græce discere. Nam adolescentulorum ac juvenum Græcis incumbendum jam tantus fere est numerus, quantus eorum qui Latinis. Propterea Græci libri vehementer ab omnibus inquiruntur, quorum quia mira paucitas est, &c.

² Nam non in *Italia* solum, sed etiam in *Germania, Gallia, Pannonia, Britannia, Hispania*, & ubique fere, ubi Romana lingua legitur, non modo ab adolescentibus, juvenibusque, sed a senibus quoque summa aviditate studetur literis Græcis.

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THEY were impos'd after such a manner, that the purchaser might have them bound either with the *Greek* and *Latin* separate, or with a leaf of the one, and a leaf of the other alternately; for instance, the *first* leaf was *Greek*, then follow'd the *first* in *Latin*, then the *second Greek* leaf, and the *second Latin*, and so on to the end; but with this precaution, that the *Greek* of the *first* leaf was only printed upon the *second* page of it, and the *Latin* version opposite to it; the *Latin* upon the *second* page of the *Latin* leaf was the version of the *Greek* upon the *first* page of the *third* leaf, and all the *Greek* upon the *second* page of this leaf, fell exactly over against the *Latin* of it in the *first* page of the *fourth* or *second Latin* leaf. This order being observ'd throughout, every other leaf being *Greek*, and the rest *Latin*, it was easy either to bind it in two volumes, the one *Greek*, and the other *Latin*; or into one, with the original first, and version afterwards, opposite to each other.

BUT, as we remark'd before, this excellent method was never observ'd, not even by those, who reprinted such of *Aldus's* editions, as had been done after this way; viz. *Esof's* and *Gabriel's* fables, *Lascares's* grammar, &c. for they printed the *Greek* in one page, and the *Latin* upon the other; which is vastly more inconvenient than his method; the manner of printing both languages in two columns not being invented 'till after the year 1550, *Vide Chevill. pag. 238.* I conceive there is no necessity of giving a more particular description of *Aldus's Greek* types, because his works are so universally known to the curious; but whoever desires to know further concerning them, and their superior excellence to those us'd before, may consult *Mr. Mattaire's Annals*, pag. 237.

ALDUS has been likewise suppos'd the first, or, at least, 'one of the first, who printed in *Hebrew*. But this is certainly a mistake; for, tho' he had a font of *Hebrew*, yet he made but little use of it; and 'tis evident, that the jews of *Soncino* in the duchy of *Milan* began to print books in that language about *twelve* or *fourteen* years before *Aldus* appear'd, as shall be shewn in its proper place. *Chevillier p. 267* tells us, that he saw nothing of his in this tongue, but the *Hebrew* alphabet, which is still preserv'd in the *Sorbon* library. We find however, that he wrote and printed an introduction to the *Hebrew* tongue; as appears from a book printed by him, ann. 1501, intitled, *Aldi Manutii Grammaticæ Latinæ linguæ*

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linguæ rudimenta; de literis Græcis & Diphthongis, &c. ut & introductio ad Hebræam linguam, 4to. Indeed *Justin Decadius* a Grecian and inhabitant of *Venice*, who caus'd the Greek psalter to be printed by *Aldus* in 4to, flatters those of his own nation, to whom he dedicates it, with a promise which that Printer made him, of printing an edition of the bible in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*; but it is not known, that he ever perform'd it, at least, with relation to the *Hebræw*.

BEFORE we close the character of this great man, it will be proper to acquaint the reader with the reason of his assuming the name *Pius* after the year 1503; because even this is another testimony of his merit. He receiv'd it from his patron prince *Albertus Pius de Carpi*, whose tutor he had formerly been, and who, on account of his singular desert, adopted him into his family, and contributed large sums towards defraying the charges of procuring and correcting manuscripts, preparing three fonts, of *Italick*, *Greek* and *Hebrew*, characters, entertaining so many learned correctors, and such a number of workmen, beside the other charges common to every Printing-house. His chief correctors were *Peter Alcyonius*, *Demetrius Chalcondylas*, *Marcus Musurus*, and *Alexander Bondinus*.

THE mark of his Printing-house, which shall be given, with the rest of the marks or rebus's of the Printers of the 15th century, at the end of this book, was a dolphin twin'd about an anchor, and nibling at it; signifying his close and indefatigable application to business, which he went through with deliberation and judgment. *Chevillier* tells us, that he took it from the emperor *Titus*; and that *Peter Bembus*, who was afterwards made a cardinal, presented him with a silver medal, which had that emperor's head on one side, and on the reverse, a dolphin twisting himself round an anchor. This was likewise, according to some authors, the device of *Augustus* the emperor¹, the anchor being design'd to signify rest, as lightning or the dolphin were to denote swiftness. These *Titus* afterwards express'd by the dolphin, signifying swiftness, and an anchor, design'd to stop the course of a ship, denoting slowness. *Aldus* himself seems to hint at this signification, when he tells prince *Carpi*, in his epistle dedicatory prefix'd to *Proclus's Sphere*, anno 1499², that he could testify

¹ Σπευδὲ βραδέως festina lente.

² Sum ipse mihi optimus testis me semper habere comites, ut oportere aiunt, delphinum

& anchoram; nam & dedimus multa cunctando, & damus assidue.

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for himself with the greatest sincerity, that he had always those two companions with him, which they say are so necessary, viz. the dolphin and anchor, and publish'd many things with deliberation, and yet without intermission. His son *Paul*, who was Printer to the *Vatican*, his son-in-law *A. de Azola*, and his grandson *Aldus* us'd the same mark.

SOME vile Printers of *Florence*, finding the impossibility of equalling *Aldus's* editions, resolv'd to counterfeit them as well as his rebus, and carry'd on the cheat for some time, 'till it was discover'd by means of a mistake committed by the engraver, who revers'd the dolphin, so that his head was on the left side of the anchor, whereas in *Aldus's* mark it was on the right. Whether his son-in-law *Andreas de Azola* first perceiv'd this difference, I will not affirm; but he first gave publick notice of it, to prevent the world's being any longer impos'd upon. This passage in the preface to his *Livy* in 8vo anno 1518, is given at full length in the margin¹. I am sensible that in this sketch of the history of that Printer, I have exceeded in many cases my propos'd limits; yet, I hope, the worth and character of the person will sufficiently excuse me for not keeping too scrupulously to our epocha.

THE works, which we have of him, from 1494 to 1500, are in number twenty four; fourteen of which are *Greek*, and the rest *Latin*, or *Latin and Greek*.

THE reader may easily perceive, how short this list comes of the number, which we might have reasonably expected from so industrious a Printer, within the space of six or seven years; especially considering, that as himself assures us, he publish'd an author every month, which amounts to almost four times our number. Whether the rest are perish'd, or are still latent in some libraries, I shall not determine, but am willing to hope the latter, and that time will by degrees bring them to light.

HOWEVER he still continued printing many years after the close of the century, and took his father-in-law *Andreas de Azola* [in *Latin Azola-*

¹ Extremum est ut admoneamus, *Florenti-*
as quosdam impressores, cum viderint diligen-
tiam nostram in castigando & imprimendo non
posse assequi, ad artes confugisse solitas, hoc est
grammaticis institutionibus *Aldi* in sua officina
formatis, notam delphini anchoræ involuti no-

stram apposuisse; sed ita egerunt, ut quivis me-
diocriter versatus in libris impressionis nostræ
animadvertat illos imprudenter fecisse. Nam
rostrum delphini in partem sinistram vergit,
cum tamen nostrum in dexteram totum demit-
tatur.

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nus] in partnership with him. As to the time of his death, or any particulars of it, I have not been able to discover any thing certain; I shall therefore conclude his history with a remark or two concerning an edition of his, which I hope will not be disagreeable to the reader: it is that of *Poliphili hypnerotomachia*, written by *Franciscus Columna*, to prove that all the world is but a dream; wherein he relates many things worth learning: it has been suppos'd to be printed at *Treviso*, anno 1467, because at the end are the following words; *Tarvisii cum decorissimis Polia amore lorulis distineretur misellus Polipbilus, MCCCCLXVII kalendis Maii, i. e.* when the unfortunate *Polipbilus* was in love with the charming *Polia*, 1467.

THIS they thought to have been the year, when the book was printed; whereas *Mattaire* and *Orlandi* observe, that the words plainly demonstrate it to be the year, in which *Colonna* finish'd it. Besides, it is evident from the character, the registers, direction-words, comma's, interrogatory points, and other particularities, as well from the last leaf, which contains the errata, and concludes thus, *Venetiis mense Decembri MID in ædibus Aldi Manutii accuratissimè*, that this edition came out from *Aldus's* press. However, *Orlandi* tells us, that this leaf was designedly torn off, because there is no date of the year, in which it was printed; but Mr. *Mattaire* gives us an account of these errata pag. 255, which bore this title, *Gli errori del libro fatti stampando, liquali corrige così*: then follows the errata containing fifty nine full lines, a greater number than *Aldus* ever put at the end of his works. After the errata are the *Latin* words abovemention'd, *Venetiis, &c.* 'Tis plain from this, that 1467 was the year, in which the author finish'd it at *Treviso*, and the date of the edition, 1499. With respect to the author's name, *Orlandi* deduceth it from the initial letters of each chapter, which being joyn'd together form these words, *Poliam frater Franciscus Columna peramavit.* *Orland.* pag. 57, 58.

THE remainder of the *Venetian* Printers to ann. 1500 are as follows.

- 96. ANTONY MORETUS of *Brescia* and } 1 edit. 1495.
- 97. JEROM de *Alexandria* }
- 98. ANTONY ZANCHI or de *Zanchis*, 1 edit. 1497.
- 99. OTINUS della *Luna* of *Pavia*, 3 edit. from 1497 to 1499.
- 100. JOHN ALVYSIUS de *Varesio Milanese*, 1 edit. 1498.

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101 BARTHOL. JUSTINOPOLITANUS,

102. GABRIEL *de Brisigbella*,

103. JOHN BISSOLI,

104. BENEDICT MANGI of *Carpi*,

WE have but two editions of these four partners, viz. *Phalaris Epistles* 4to 1498, and *Æsop's* life and fables 4to 1500, both in *Greek*: the former of these editions has a privilege from the senate of *Venice*, for their sole printing of it during the space of ten years; and an epistle of *Bartholomew Justinopolitan* to *Contarenius* a senator of *Venice*, wherein he complains of the great abuses, which were crept into the Art of Printing; and the disadvantages thence arising to the common wealth of learning, thro' the ignorance and negligence of Printers, which encreas'd every day among them: he seems therefore rather to have been an editor than a Printer, and to have hir'd the other three to print in partnership with him.

105. ANTONY *de Guzzago* of *Brescia*, 1 edit. 1498.

106. SEBASTIAN MANILIUS a Roman and partners, 1 edit. 1499.

107. JOHN BAPT. SESSA of *Milan*, 2 edit. 1499.

108. ZACHARIAH CALIERGI of *Crete*; he was a very eminent Printer of *Greek*: we have two editions of his, both of 1499, viz. *Simplicius Comment.* upon *Aristotle's Categories* fol. and *Etymologicum magnum*, fol. in *Greek*, the last of these printed at the desire of a *Constantinopolitan* lady: he remov'd to *Rome*, and printed there till ann. 1523 if not beyond; and the *Lexicon Varini* was printed by him in that year.

109. LUCANTONIUS *de Giunta* or *Zunta* of *Florence*, 1500.

ALL the Printers of this name [*de Giunta* or *Zunta*] have been persons of the most distinguish'd merit for their performances at *Rome*, *Florence*, *Lyons* and *Venice*; their common rebus or mark was the *flower-de-luce*, and sometimes the *eagle*. The first of that name is this *Lucantonius Giunta*, a man of noble extract, who employ'd *John de Spira* to print for him at *Venice*.

WHETHER this *Spira* was a son or grandson of one of the two brothers, who first brought the Art to this city, is uncertain. However, the *Giunta's* signaliz'd themselves in that Art, 'till the middle of the sixteenth century. The following edition is the only one, we know of, printed by him before the close of this century, viz. *Regulæ sancti Benedicti*,

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dicti, *sancti* Basilii, *sancti* Augustini & Francisci; *collectæ atque ordinatæ* per D. J. Franc. Brixianum monachum congregationis S. Justinæ ordinis S. Benedicti de observantia, 4to, cura & impensis nobilis viri Luc. Antonii de Giunta Florentini, arte & solerti ingenio magistri Johannis de Spira, idibus April. Venetiis. Some of the impressions of *Matthew Capcasa* at *Venice*, 1482, are said in the colophon to be printed at the desire of *Lucant. Zunta*.

109, NICHOLAS BLASTI, one Greek edition dated 1500.

110. ALBERTINE VERCELLENSIS, 1 edit. dated 1500.

THESE are all the Printers hitherto known to have wrought at *Venice*, from the time of its receiving the Art, to the year 1500, but there were many more, who, as was hinted before, made a trade of reprinting some of the best editions in a slovenly incorrect manner, and to undersell the good ones; for which reason, they did not dare to set their names to them. Father *Orlandi* gives us a list of 90 of them done at *Venice* during that interval, the greatest part of which, I am apt to suspect, are of that sorry kind.

C H A P. V.

Of the three first Printers at Paris, and their Successors; the Encouragement which they met with; some Account of the Books printed by them; with other Particulars. A second Printing-house set up in the Louvre by King Lewis XI. The rest of the Paris Printers.

WHOEVER desires a compleat account of the first settlement, progress and improvement of the Art of Printing, in the city and university of *Paris*, the metropolis of *France*, will find that subject copiously treated of by *De la Gaille* in his *Origine de l'imprimerie* printed anno 1689; and more particularly by *Chevillier* in his *Origine de l'Imprimerie* printed at *Paris*, anno 1694.

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THESE two authors have chiefly confin'd their history to that kingdom; and, as they had all possible opportunities of searching the records and libraries of that university, have been enabled to acquaint the world with a vast many particularities relating as well to the Art, as to the most eminent Printers there. But since an induction of them would swell this work to too great a bulk, I shall select the most curious and material parts, and refer the reader for the rest to the authors before mention'd. Sufficient reasons, I hope, are already given, against the opinion of those, who, contrary to all the most incontestable records, assert that *Nich. Jensen* first brought printing to *Paris*. This particular is further confirm'd by the two last mention'd *French* historians, whose account of that matter is as follows.

SOME time before the year 1470, *William Fichet* and *John Heynlim. de Lapide* or *Lapidanus*, two famous doctors of the university of *Paris*, and of the college of *Sorbon*, observing the progress of printing in several cities of *Europe*, began to use their utmost efforts in order to introduce it not only into that city, but even into their college, where they might give it all necessary help and encouragement. They were both persons of great reputation for their learning and publick spirit. The former was a *Savoyard* by birth, and a great restorer of the long neglected art of rhetoric, and all polite literature. The latter was a *German*, and had been rector of the university, and prior of the college of *Sorbon*, to which last dignity, he was chosen again about this time. As there were then but few, if any, except *Germans*, eminent in printing, *Lapidanus* undertook to bring some of the most skilfull thither. This could not but seem easily attainable by him, who had such a numerous acquaintance amongst the learned in *Germany*, and is suppos'd, upon good grounds, to have been of the same diocess, if not the same city with *Uldric Gering*, a native of *Constance*. The latter being influenc'd by the kind invitations of a person of such esteem, who promis'd him the college of *Sorbon* for his abode, and his assistance in procuring and preparing manuscripts, and revising his editions; and allur'd by the hopes of considerable gain in so rich a city, wherein the Art was yet unpractis'd, brought two other countrymen with him, viz. *Martin Crantz* and *Michael Friburger* or *de Columbaria* or *Colmar* in *Alsace*, to *Paris*; where he set up presses in the
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hall of *Sorbon*, and in the year 1470 publish'd the first book, that ever was printed in any city of *France*, except that of *Tours* mention'd in a former chapter. Father *Orlandi* tells us, that *Lewis XI* gave *Fitchet* and *Lapidanus* orders to send for some of the best Printers to *Paris*, at his own charge; and that by this means the three *German* partners were induc'd to settle there. *Chevillier* takes no notice of this, but attributes the honour wholly to the *Sorbonists*. However, it is certain that this king was a great encourager of learning; as appears by the magnificent library which he form'd at his palace in *Paris*; whither he brought not only all the books, which his predecessors, and in particular *Charles V* firnam'd the wise, and *Charles VI* had collected and set up at *Fountainbleau*, but likewise all that he could purchase at any rate, together with a great number of editions printed at *Mentz* by *Faust* and *Schoeffer*; and what manuscripts he could not purchase, he order'd to be curiously transcrib'd, and to be set up there. A remarkable instance of this, mention'd by the *French* writers, is as follows.

THE king understanding that the college of physicians at *Paris* had in their library the works of *Rhasis* a physician, translated out of *Arabick* into *Latin*, sent to borrow it, in order to have it transcrib'd; but the college representing it as against their constitutions to lend any of their books without a sufficient pledge; his majesty was contented to obtain the use of it, by depositing a large quantity of his own plate. Whether therefore the king or the two doctors brought the first Printers to *Paris*, 'tis beyond doubt, that he gave them sufficient encouragement, and access to the library at the *Louvre*, with liberty to print from any of those volumes, in the choice of which, it is probable, they were directed by their two patrons.

As the Art was then in its infancy at *Paris*, their first editions were in a large round Roman character but greatly inferior in beauty to that of their contemporaries in *Italy*; their paper was smooth and strong, tho' less white; their impressions were maim'd and imperfect, with letters and words half printed, and finish'd with a pencil; the inscription and title of some epistles, and the large initial letters of books and chapters were done with the hand, for which a blank was left in the page; they had no capitals, nor regular spaces, but were full of abbreviations; in short, there

there was nothing to recommend them except the newness, and the beauty of the ink. They us'd few rubricks, and those only upon vellum; some of their books begin at the *folio verso*, or even page; and all of them are without titles, number of pages, signatures or direction-words; they us'd no signatures 'till the year 1476, and then plac'd them not at the bottom, but at the top of the pages; they added neither date, nor names of Printer and place; all which are only to be gathered from the prefaces, or epigrams at the end, or some other circumstances, as will appear from the list of their works, especially of those printed in the three first years 1470, 1471, and 1472. It is certainly very surprising, that neither *Gering* nor his two learned patrons, who must infallibly have seen some of the *Italian* editions, especially those of *Rome* and *Venice*, which had all these necessary ornaments, should not make them sensible of their deficiencies in all those respects. However, so few were the elegant Printers in those days, that the learned men of *Paris*, who esteem'd the Art of more consequence than these embellishments, fail'd not to acknowledge their obligation to the *Sorbon* doctors, for the services they had done to the university in settling the Printers there, upon whom they were equally liberal of their encomiums. Enough of these may be seen in *Chevillier* pag. 41, & seq. I shall only cite in the margin an epigram printed at the end of *Gaspar Pergamenfis's* epistles, which was their first impression, and had prefix'd to it a letter of thanks to those great men, upon their bringing the Art to that city.

THE epigram¹ is address'd to the city of *Paris*, and sufficiently shews not only that this edition was the first fruits of the Art both in that city and kingdom, against those who ascribe that honour to *Jenson*; but likewise that the *Parisians* congratulated themselves for their success in introducing it thither, since it gave the university an absolute authority over

¹ Ut sol lumen, sic doctrinam fundis in orbem,
Mufarum nutrix regia, *Parisus*.
Hinc prope divinam tu, quam *Germania* novit,
Artem scribendi, suscipe promerita.
Primos ecce libros, quos hæc iudustria finxit
Francorum in terris, ædibus atque tuis.
Michael, Uldaricus, Martinusque magistri
Hos imprefferunt, ac facient alios.

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all Printers and bookfellers, in the *seven* following particulars, mention'd by *Chevillier* pag. 327, viz.

1. THAT all the Printers and bookfellers of *Paris*, after the first settlement of printing there, have still continued in their former state, that is, been esteem'd as agents and servants to that university.
2. THAT they are oblig'd to take the oaths to the rector of it.
3. THAT they are not allow'd to follow that business 'till the university has judg'd them qualify'd for it.
4. THAT the university exercises their jurisdiction over them by summoning them to appear, &c. by fining, punishing and deposing them for any misdemeanor.
5. THAT the edicts and ordinances of the king empower that body to visit and search all Printing-houses, ware-houses for books, and bookfellers shops, &c.
6. THAT the university set a price upon their books, which was affix'd to their catalogues, and plac'd in some conspicuous part of their shops, lest any person might be impos'd on by them. This part of their province they exerted, long before the Art of Printing was discover'd, over all transcribers, illuminators, bookfellers, &c.
7. LASTLY, that the bookfellers, &c. should sell no books of religion, &c. 'till they had been examin'd and approv'd by the university, or, at least, by the faculty of doctors of divinity.

WE shall shew in the third book of this history, that the university of *Oxford* had the same authority over the Printers and bookfellers of that city.

TO return to our three Printers, they continued printing but three years at the house of the *Sorbon*; after which one of their patrons, *Fichet* being invited to *Rome* by Pope *Sixtus IV*, and the other intending soon after to return to *Germany*, they remov'd to *St. James's-street*, at the sign

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of the *Golden Sun*. Upon this they immediately rejected all their old punches, matrices and letters, and furnish'd themselves with some entirely new, and printed several considerable volumes 'till the year 1477; at which time *Crantz* and *Friburger* either return'd into *Germany*, or, at least, left off printing, for there is no edition with their names after that year; but *Gering* printed in his own name many years longer, as shall be shewn in its place. In the mean time, it will be proper to give the reader an account of this new set of characters, which they made use of in their new house.

'Tis to be observ'd, that they were of three or four sorts, all different from each other, and from those us'd at the house of the *Sorbon*, and cast in new matrices. One sort is vastly inferior to their former, and resembles the hand-writing of that time, but such as was done (*stannea manu*, as *Aldus* expresses it) with a heavy hand.

It is not, however, altogether Gothic, but rather like that which *Schoeffer* us'd at *Mentz*. Another sort was not unlike this in shape, but of a much larger face. The *third* was a Roman much more round and fine than the two former; but the *fourth* sort, not us'd by *Gering* 'till after the year 1478, that is, after his partners had left him, is a very beautiful, large Roman, which (if we may believe *Chevillier*, who saw and compar'd them) is in no case inferior to that of the *Spira's*, *Jenson*, or any other of the famous *Venetian* and *French* Printers, either before or since. Thus *Gering* attain'd to a degree of perfection equal with any of his brethren; but was at last oblig'd to comply with the custom, and print several books in Gothic, such as *Virgil* and some others, besides those for the use of churches. The editions printed at this house, and in these new characters, are still defective with respect to their dates or Printers names, some wanting the one, some the other, and some both, as appears by the list of his works given us by the foremention'd author, anno 1480. *Gering* took into partnership with him for some time, *William Maynyal*; and in the year 1483 remov'd from *St. James's-street*, and took a lease, during life, of a house belonging to the college of *Sorbon*, where he set up his old sign of the *Golden-sun*. As he was now become very rich, and had contracted an intimate friendship with the *Sorbon* collegians, he made them some considerable donatives both in books and

and money; upon which account they chose him fellow of that college, and assign'd him chambers and commons in it: and as he was not engag'd in matrimony, he took the more pleasure in conversing with them, communicating his designs, and using their advice about the books which he was to print, and their assistance in correcting them; in return for which he presented them with copies of all his editions. It was no small advantage to that college (which was call'd at first by the founder *Robert Sorbon*, *Societas pauperum magistrorum Parisiis in theologica facultate studentium*) to have so generous a friend and benefactor admitted into it; who requited them for this honour with vast legacies, left by him in his will to this college, and that of *Montague* in the same city. For by his success in printing 'till *anno 1510*, in which he died, he had amass'd a prodigious quantity of wealth, all which he bequeath'd to those two colleges. What he endow'd the *Sorbon* in particular with, was sufficient to maintain *eight* fellows, to be added to those on the old foundation, and two lectures every day, one in the morning for the Old, and another in the afternoon for the New Testament; besides several other donatives to those of the house whom he had a particular esteem for.

Now considering, that he was the first Printer of that city and kingdom; that he was invited thither by the college of *Sorbon*; that he had been so great a master of his art, and so liberal to that poor society in his life-time, and after his death; the reader may perhaps expect to hear of some monument erected by them to his memory: but 'tis plain from what *Chevillier*, a fellow of that college, tells us, that they did not so much as set a grave-stone over him, to let the world know where that great man was bury'd; so that our last mention'd author, after a vast deal of pains, could not gain the least certainty about it. However, to do them justice, they order'd an anniversary-mass to be said on the 23d of *August*, on which he dy'd. Who his correctors were, is difficult to determine; but it is probable he made use of any of the collegians, whom he pleas'd. He had some other partners besides *Maynyal* beforemention'd, and instructed several Printers, who signaliz'd themselves both during his life and after he dy'd. There were likewise divers other Printing-houses set up at *Paris* soon after his, of which we shall speak, when we have given some further account of his works; *Chevillier* in his list of

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them divides them into three classes, viz. those which he printed with his two partners in the college from 1470 to 1473; next those printed at the *Golden Sun* in *St. James's-street* 'till anno 1483; and lastly, those which he printed from that time 'till his death, either by himself or with his other partners. Of the first class there are eleven editions still extant all printed in the same character, some of the first of which have epistles affix'd and inscrib'd by *Fichet* above-nam'd, to several princes and prelates, and are dated 1470 and 1471; one of which, to cardinal *Bessarion*, has the following, *Ædibus Sorbonæ scriptum, impressumque uno anno & septuagesimo quadringentesimo supra millesimum*: those of the second class are 23 in number: and sixteen of the third class, exclusive of those, which he printed after the year 1500: all which the reader will find either in *Chevillier* or *Mr. Mattaire*. *Gering's* last work is dated 1508, which shews that he left off printing two years before he dyed: for his death did not happen 'till anno 1510, Aug. 23. The next Printing-house, to that of the three *German's* last spoken of, was set up by,

4. PETER CÆSARIS and 5. JOHN STOL, 1473.

THESE two Printers were likewise natives of *Germany*, but had already studied sometime in the university of *Paris*, where the former had attain'd to the degree of master of arts: these two became acquainted with their countryman *Gering*, and inform'd him of their design of setting up a Printing-house, begging his assistance and instructions therein, which he readily granted: and thus was the second Press set up at *Paris* by these two learned persons, who became soon after, no less famous, for their industry and application, than they had been for their learning. They pitch'd upon one of the houses, belonging to the college of *Sorbon*, to print in, which *Chevillier* tells us, was in *St. James's-street* at the sign of the *Soldier and Swan*: their character was short of the beauty of *Uldric Gering*, tho' far from being of the Gothic kind; this may be one reason why a great many of their works are lost: they were likewise guilty of neglecting to affix either their names or dates to their works: so that the former is only to be gather'd from the likeness of the character to their
other

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other works, that are printed in their names, and the latter is either supply'd by some circumstance, or wholly guess'd at.

THEIR first work is suppos'd to be the *Speculum Zamoræ*, which tho' printed without date, yet is known to have come out *anno* 1473 by the epigram at the end: one of their finest impressions is that of *Ocham's* decalogue, which *Naudeus* thought to have been done by *Gering*, but *Chevillier* who has compar'd them with other of their works, assures them to have been printed by them: we have but ten editions of theirs from 1473 to 1500: but they continu'd printing beyond that time especially *Cæsaris*. The next *Paris* Printer was,

6. PETER CARON, of whom we have but one edition dated 1474.

7. PASQUIER BON-HOMME 1475, he printed the chronicle of *France*, and that of *St Dennis* in three volumes *fol. a scarce book*, and the only one we have left of him, it is dated 1475.

8. ANTHONY VERARD, 1480.

HE was one of the most considerable Printers and booksellers of his time, and very eminent for the curiosity and number of his editions. The greatest part of his books consist in romances and the like, printed in a Gothic character, but so elegant as to please the eye extremely. Many of them are printed upon fine vellum; *La Caille* tells us, that there are above an hundred volumes of his romances printed curiously on vellum, embellish'd with exquisite miniatures or small cutts, painted in water-colours, in imitation of the manuscripts which he printed after, all which are to be seen in the French king's library. However, tho' he engag'd most in romantick pieces, yet he likewise publish'd several learned volumes, all in *French*, with equal care and beauty, in the same Gothic letter.

HE kept his Printing-house and shop upon the bridge of *Nôtre Dame* at the sign of *St. John the-Evangelist*. Sometimes he subscribes his books only with the first letters of his name, A. V. His mark is enclos'd with four *French* verses in a pious strain: the reader will find them in the margin*. Whatever is become of the great number of his editions, some of

* Pour provoquer ta grand miséricorde
A tout pecheur faire Grace & Pardon

Antoine Verard humblement te reorde
Tout ce qu'il a, il fient de toy pardon.
which

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which were printed by the *French* king *Charles VIII's* order, I can find no more in *Orlandi's* list than 32, from 1480 to 1500.

THE rest of the *Paris* Printers are as follows,

9. NICHOLAS *de Philippis* and

10. MARK REYNHARD *de Strasburgh*, }

WHERE they printed in partnership before they came to *Paris*: we have but one edition of theirs dated 1482.

11. ANTONY CAYLLAUT and } we have 4 edit. of theirs from 1483
12. LEWIS MARTINEAU, } to 1492.

13. GUIDO MERCANT, 10 edit. from 1483 to 1499.

14. GEORGE MITTLH or *Mittelb*, 2 edit. from 1484 to 1489.

15. DENNIS JANNOT, 1 edit. 1484.

16. ROBINET MACE, 1 edit. 1486.

17. JOHN BONHOME, who was also a bookseller, 3 edit. from 1486 to 1489.

18. PETER LEVET, 5 edit. from 1487 to 1497.

19. JOHN CARCHAGNI, 1 edit. 1489.

20. PETER ROUGE the king's Printer, 3 edit. from 1487 to 1488.

21. JOHN DUPRE, 1 edit. 1488: he went to *Lyons* soon after.

22. PHILIP PIGOUCHE, 3 edit. from 1489 to 1500.

23. WOLFGANG HOPYL *German* and } 4 edit. from 1489 to 1498.

24. JOHN HIGMAN,

THE former of these became afterwards partner of the great *Henry Stephens*.

25. MICHAELLE NOIR, 1 edit. 1489.

26. DURANT GERLIER, 1 edit. 1489.

27. JAMES MAILET, 1 edit. 1491.

28. GEORGE WOLF of *Baden* and partners, 7 edit. from 1491 to 1499.

HIS partners, who printed afterwards by themselves shall be mention'd in their place.

29. WILLIAM CARON,

30. JOHN BELIN with *John Dupre* abovemention'd, } 1 edit. 1492.

31. GILLET COUSTEAU and } 2 edit. from 1492 to 1494.

32. JOHN MENARD,

33. JOHN

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33. JOHN LAMBERT and^y } 2 edit. 1493 to 1494.
 34. CLAUDE JAMMAR, }
 35. JOHN PHILIPPI *de Cruczennach*, German, one of *George Wolph's* partners: we have 3 edit. of his from 1494 to 1495.
 36. PETER POUILLAC, }
 37. STEPHEN JANNOT and } 4 edit. from 1495 to 1498.
 38. JOHN TREPEREL, }
 39. JOHN BOUYER and } 1 edit. 1496.
 40. WILLIAM BOUCHER, }
 41. ANDR. BOCARD one of the best Printers of his time: *De la Caille* affirms him to have printed a great number of books, both for himself and other booksellers: and among others, the *Figuræ Biblicæ* of *Anth. de Rampengol*: his mark was the arms of *France*, and those of the university, and of the city of *Paris* with four *French* verses, which you will find in the margin¹: we have however but 4 edit. of his, 3 dated 1497, and the last 1498.
 42. ANTONY NIDEL or *de Nydel* a citizen of *Paris*, and master of arts: we have but one impression of his dated 1497.
 43. JOHN POITEVIN, } we have but 1 edit. of each of these dated
 JOHN HIGMAN, } 1498.
 44. JOHN RICHARD, }

45. JO. PETIT, *Parisian*, 1498.

JOHN PETIT was a native of *Paris*, and rather a bookseller than a Printer: he is justly esteem'd one of the most eminent and industrious ones of his time. He kept the greatest number of the best workmen of any of his contemporaries, with no less than fifteen presses continually at work at his own charges, whilst himself was engag'd in the business of his shop, at the *silver Lyon*, and procuring the most skilfull correctors to revise his works. He gain'd a prodigious reputation by the beauty and correctness of his impressions, which, tho' printed in a Gothic character, are much esteem'd by the curious. He began to print *anno* 1498, tho' some copies

¹ Honneur au Roy, & a la Court,
Salut a l'Universite,

Dont nôtre bien procede & sôurt
Dieu gard' de *Paris* la cite.

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of editions by several former Printers have likewise his name, as Mr. *Mattaire* informs us, yet all have not; he continued printing 'till *anno* 1532, and many of his impressions are as scarce as they are curious. The learned *Henry Stephens*, father of so many great Printers of that name, was so well satisfy'd of his merit, that he was glad to have him for his partner with *Wolfgang Hopyl* mention'd above, who was a Printer of much older date: *Petit* became so famous, both for the beauty and correctness, as well as the number of his editions, that he was afterwards sworn Printer and bookseller to the university of *Paris*, and chosen syndic or master of that company; among those Printers which he employ'd, was the famous *Jodocus Badius*, who printed several considerable editions for him. In the title page of his books, he us'd the words *Petit a Petit* [by little and little] alluding to his own name, which he also us'd for his motto. The books which we find printed in his name from 1498 to 1500, are only three, the first of which is much valued by students in law, viz.

MODUS legendi abbreviaturus in utroque jure, 8vo, per *Jo. Petit, Parisiis*, 1498. For as we hinted before, abbreviations were become so frequent and intricate in most sciences, but especially that of the law, that such a help as this was become absolutely necessary.

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| 46. JOHN DRYART, | } we have but one impression of each of these dated 1498. |
| 47. SIMON COLIN, | |
| 48. GODFREY MARNEF, | |
| 49. MICHEL TOLOSA, 1 edit. 1499. | |
| 50. ALEXANDER ALIATE, | } 1 edit. of each 1500. |
| 51. THIELMAN KERVER, | |

WE find also in *Orlandi's* list about 44 editions without Printers names.

BEFORE I dismiss this chapter, I cannot omit observing, that *Paris* hath been a noble patroness of the Art of Printing. 'Tis true, *Venice* is justly fam'd upon this account; yet it ought to be remember'd, that most of her celebrated Printers were of the *French* nation, and signaliz'd themselves as much in this Art, as any other nation; and that *Paris* excell'd all other cities of that kingdom in this respect. The encouragements which their kings, and the learned of that and other countries, have given the Art, and the care of the university over the Printers, have contri-

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contributed extremely to the great improvements made therein. Besides this, the *French* have shewn an extraordinary genius and skill in the cutting of their punches for all languages; they have been very curious about their paper, and more particularly in adorning their editions with cutts, head and tail pieces, initial letters, rubricks and other embellishments of that nature. This I mention not so much with respect to the 15th century, as to the following. No city has produc'd a greater number of the finest bibles than *Paris*. Their large, royal and polyglot bibles are justly esteem'd master-pieces of that kind; their editions of general and provincial councils, of canon and civil-law, the works of the fathers, chronological and historical books, and, in short, in every art and science, are very numerous, rich, and valuable; and many of them contain seven, eight, and ten large volumes, and some twenty, thirty, and even thirty seven, as the acts of the council printed by the famous *Anthony Vitré* at the *Louvre*. The women likewise were very eminent in this province; and particularly, *Charlotte Guillard*, the widow of *Berthold Rembolt*, *Ulric Gering's* partner, who for the space of 50 years kept several presses, and printed a great number of large and correct editions both in *Latin* and *Greek*, her best editions were publish'd after she became a widow the second time, viz. the bible, the fathers; in particular, the works of *St. Gregory* in two volumes were printed so accurately, that the *errata* contain'd but three faults. Her fame at last increas'd so, that the learned *Lewis Lippoman*, bishop of *Verona*, made choice of her to print his *Catena SS. patrum in Genesim*, which he finish'd in *Portugal*. This edition she perform'd so much to his satisfaction, that when he assisted at the council of *Trent*, he came on purpose to *Paris* to return her thanks, and prevail'd upon her to print likewise his second volume, viz. *Catena in Exodum*, which she perform'd with equal beauty and correctness. These with many other particulars relating to that admirable woman, may be seen in *Chevil*. p. 48, & seq.

As *Paris* has always abounded in excellent Printers, and furnish'd most other cities of *Europe* with some of them; so, on the other hand, it must be own'd, that it has produc'd several equally bad, who have publish'd many wretched editions; and 'tis probable they might have still increas'd, had not the university check'd their growth. For as it has such power

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over all Printers and bookfellers, as to refuse admitting those into the business, who are not sufficiently qualify'd, and to turn them out of it, or suspend or fine them for any misdemeanors, as was hinted before; it can more easily restrain them, than where such checks are wanting. However those, whose merit recommends them, enjoy all the encouragement they can reasonably desire, both from their princes and the university. They are endow'd with privileges, exemptions, and immunities beyond any other city; and have had frequent opportunities of raising themselves to great dignities, of acquiring large estates, and in short, every thing suitable to their merit.

C H A P. V.

The Settlement and Progress of Printing in the Cities of Cologn, Milan 1470, Strasburgh, Bologna and Treviso 1471, the Names, Dates, and other Particulars of their Printers.

Article I. COLOGN. 1470.

THE city of *Cologn*, (which is one of the most opulent Hans-towns in the empire, and an archiepiscopal see, pleasantly situated upon the *Rhine*,) by its nearness to *Mentz*, must necessarily have received the Art of Printing very early. We have taken notice, in the first book of this history, that some of *Faust's* servants left him even before the taking of that city, and settled at *Cologn*; and the author of the Chronicle of that name mentions it as the first city, which receiv'd the art after *Mentz*. 'Tis unquestionable that if her first impressions had been preserv'd, we must have given it the precedency to almost all the cities hitherto mention'd; but whether the first printers of it neglected to add their own, and the cities name at the end of their editions, (a fault too common in those days) or whether their works were too inconsiderable to be preserv'd; it is certain that there is no book, as yet known, printed there with an authentick date, before this year 1470; which is
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the reason why, according to our propos'd method, we can allow it no higher rank. We have indeed, in the introduction to this second book, taken notice of one of the most eminent printers in this city, viz. *John Koelhoff*, who antedated some of his impressions; but, I hope, the reader is fully satisfy'd from the reasons which we have given there, that he began not to work so early, since one of his dates is even much older than either himself or the Art of Printing. *Cogn* did not abound with great Printers during the first 30 years, viz. till 1500; tho' in process of time it became very famous in that art, as well by those who liv'd in it, as those that dispers'd themselves into many cities of *Europe*. It is call'd *Colonia Agrippina* in *Latin* from the empress *Agrippina*, *Nero's* mother: the following are all the Printers we know of 'till the end of the 15th century.

1. *CONRARD WINTERS de Hombergh*, a citizen of *Cogn*, of whom we have but one edition dated 1470.

2. *PETER de Olpe*, 2 edit. both 1471.

3. *ARNOLD TERBORN* or *Terburn*, 2 edit. from 1473 to 1477.

4. *JOHN KOELHOFF de Lubeck*, 9 edit. from 1474 to 1494: besides the two following ones, which tho' printed with his name, have a date manifestly false.

1. *FLORES de diversis sermonibus & epistolis B. Bernardi per me Joan. Koelhoff de Lubeck Coloniensem civem impressi anno MCCCC, feliciter finiunt*. The reader may see by the time in which he printed, that either the last C must have been taken up by the balls, or omitted by the compositor; and that it was done anno 1500, or that some other figures are wanting to the date: but it appears to me to be done by design rather than mistake.

2. *SILVII Senensis Epistolæ, at the end; Pii secundi pontificis maximi, cui ante summum episcopatum primum quidem imperiali secretario, mox episcopo, deinde etiam cardinali Senensi, Enee Silvii nomen erat, familiares epistole date ad amicos in quadruplici vise ejus statu finiunt, per me Joannem Koelhoff de Lubeck coloniæ incolam, anno incarnationis MCCCCLVIII.*

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WE have already observ'd, that there are some letters in this book, which are of a later date by several years than that of the book; so that it must necessarily be false.

5. HENRY QUENTEL an excellent Printer, tho' omitted by the last annalist father *Orlandi*, continued printing long after the year 1500, and had a son *Peter Quentel* and a grandson *John Quentel*, who likewise distinguish'd themselves for the goodness and correctness of their editions: we have but 4 edit. of his from 1480 to 1500.

6. JOHN GULDENSCHAYFF, 4 edit. from 1484 to 1487.

MR. *Mattaire* mentions likewise some bibles, and a few other books printed here without Printers names.

Article II. MILAN, 1470.

MILAN [in latin *Mediolanum*] is one of the four chief cities of *Italy*, situate near the rivers *Adda* and *Tesino*, and said to have been built by the *Trojans* after their expulsion by *Bellover* king of the *Gauls*. This city, after a variety of chances and wars, was almost ruined by *Frederic Barbarossa*; but now flourishes under the emperor of *Germany*. It received the Art of Printing very early, and had many excellent artificers from the beginning, whose works are equally valuable with those of any other cities. We cannot positively affirm any thing concerning the time, in which this Art was brought hither, nor who were the men that set it up. The first both in time as well as excellency was.

I. ANTHONY ZAROT, 1470.

HE was a native of the city of *Parma*, tho' of *Cretensian* parents, as appears by some of his colophons, and gain'd a great reputation for 30 years, in which he continued printing, by his elegant and correct impressions in a beautiful Roman character, which are sufficiently known among the learned. He was oblig'd indeed to comply with the custom in printing some editions in old Gothic; yet even these have all the elegance and beauty they can admit of. He is esteem'd the inventor of signatures, or alphabetical letters at the bottom of every sheet, which
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at first he plac'd under the last line of the page, where they ought to be: But afterwards he put them, upon what account is hard to guess, at the end of the last line, so as to make them serve, as it were, for the last word in the page. This appears by his edition of *John Simoneta de gestis Francisci Sfortiæ ducis Mediol.* anno 1486. This whim of his was not follow'd by any Printer, nor by himself long; for he soon return'd to the first method. His main province was printing of classicks, which he executed with extraordinary diligence and accuracy. He is said to be the first that printed missals or mass-books for the use of the clergy, who were hitherto us'd to MS ones. That which he printed anno 1478, had the four *Latin* verses in red letters, which you will find in the margin¹. His chief corrector was the famous *Peter Justin Philelphus*, a person of learning and great application, especially in correcting the faulty editions which *Zarot* was oblig'd to procure from *Rome* or other places. His next corrector was the learned *P. Steph. Dulcinio*, prebend of *Scala*, who tells the marquiss of *Palavicino*, to whom he dedicates the second edition of *Manilius*, anno 1499. that he had corrected that author in above three hundred places, and clear'd it from the barbarisms, and other faults of the transcribers, as far as it was possible to be done in a very corrupt copy. *Zarot* continued printing till the year 1500, from which time we hear no more of him.

WE have twenty six of his impressions still extant, many of which have either an epigram or a colophon in his commendation. Some are without Printer or places name, and even without date; the last of which must be guess'd at, the former are easily known by the particular beauty of his character, and because he printed no where but at *Milan*.

2. *PHILIP de Lavagna Milanese*, 13 editions, from 1474 to 1480. The last of which, viz. *Eusebii Chronicon* in *Latin*, is without date, and has a *Latin* epigram of six lines written in his commendation by *Boninus Mambriti*.

3. *CHRISTOPHER VALDARFER de Ratisbon*, an excellent artist, who printed at *Venice* from 1470 to 1471, then came to *Milan*, where

¹ Antoni patria Parmensis gente Zarote,
Primus Missales imprimit arte Libros.
Nemo repertorem nimium se jactet; in Arte,
Addere plus tantum quam peperisse valet.

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he wrought till anno 1477, if not beyond. He made use of the same corrector here which he had at *Venice*, viz. *Ludovicus Carbo* or *Carbone*, a native of *Ferrara*; we have but four impressions of his done at *Milan* from 1474 to 1477.

4. DOMINIC *de Vespolate*,
5. DIONYS PARAVICINO, } 4 edit. from 1476 to 1478.

THE former also took another partner, viz.

6. JAMES MARLIAN, of these we have 2 edit. 1477, 1478.

7. LUDOVIC and
8. ALBERT } *Piedmontese*. Of these two Brothers we have only

one edition, viz. *Dante's* comedies with comments: The text is printed in an elegant Roman, and the comments in a fine Gothic character, with the colophon which you'll find in the margin¹.

9. LEONARD PACHEL,
10. ULDRIC SCINZENZETER, } 1479.

These two partners were Germans by birth, and printed sometimes together and sometimes separately, till after the close of the 15th century. The former of them printed a great many of the classicks, and is reported to have printed a very considerable number of law books, many of which are not yet come to light. Their corrector was *Benedict. Rhetoricus*. The number of their impressions hitherto discover'd from 1479 to 1500, amounts to 36.

11. SIMON MAGNAGUS, 1 edit. 1480.

12. BENIGNUS and
13. JOHN ANTONY } *Bonafo* brothers, 2 edit. 1482, 1488.

14. JAMES *de S. Nazaro*, 2 edit. 1489, 1494.

15. PHILIP *de Montegaliis*, 1 edit. 1490.

16. PETER ANTONY *de Castillione*, 1 edit. 1493.

17. HENRY GERMAN, and
18. SEBASTIAN *de Pontremoli*, } 1 edit. 1493.

¹ Edente Martino paulo Nidobeato Novariensi DIVA. BO. MA cum dulci nato JO. GZ. Ducibus feliciss. Liguriæ valida pace regnantibus, operiegregio manum supremam LUD.

& ALB. FR. Pedemontani amico Jove impo- fuerunt. Mediolani urbe illustri. Anno Gratiæ M. CCCC. LXXVII. V. ID. F. MP. N. N. CUM. GU. T. FA. CU.

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19. WILLIAM SIGNER of *Rouen*, 2 edit. 1496, 1498.
20. JOHN BAPT. ALVISIANUS, 1 edit. 1497.
21. ALEXANDER MINUTIANUS, 1 edit. of all *Cicero's* works in 4 volumes fol. the two first *anno* 1498, the other two 1499.
22. DEMETRIUS CHALCONDYLLA and partners, 1 edit. 1499.
23. AMBROSE CAPONAGUS, 1 edit. 1499.
24. JOHN ANGEL. SCINZENZELER and } 2 edit. both 1500.
25. BARTHOL MINIATOR, }
26. PETER MARTYR MONTLEGATIUS, 1 edit. 1500.

There are also many editions printed at *Milan*, from 1471 to 1500 without Printer's names. Fath. *Orlandi* tells us, that he has on purpose omitted many works done at *Milan*, because his learned friend Dr. *Joseph Antonio* keeper of the *Ambrosian* library in that city, was then (*ann* 1722) compiling a history which would shortly appear under the following title, *Historia Literaria Mediolanensis ab an. 1470 ad 1500. qua occasione de Origine & progressu Typographiæ, Libris editis intra illud tempus, ac Viris Illustribus, eo seculo in eadem Urbe florentibus.* By this we may easily guess, that we have as yet but an imperfect history of that city. We may say the same of almost all the rest, except those that have met with some learned persons who have taken the pains of searching the libraries, in order to give a more perfect and full one of them, such as that of *Paris*, *Nurembergh*, &c.

Article III. STRASBURGH.

STRASBURGH, in *Latin* *Argentina* and *Argentoratum*, is an episcopal See, and the metropolis of *Alsatia* upon the borders of *France*, celebrated for the number of learned men, which it has produc'd; and the beauty and magnificence of its churches, towers, buildings, &c. according to the poet's description¹.

It was the native place of *John Guttenbergh*, to which, after his disagreement with *Faust*, he brought the Art of Printing together with some of his artificers; so that it may be justly esteem'd, at least, one of the

¹ Imprimisque altas propius fert inclyta turres.
Argentina Domus doctorum clara virorum

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first cities, that practis'd it after *Mentz*, tho' all the monuments of it are so far lost to us, that we know not any books with a certain date, printed there before the year 1471.

WE have seen, in the first part of this history, how much this city hath been celebrated by some authors, upon the account of *John Guttenbergh*, whom they suppos'd to have been the inventor of this Art, or at least to have laid the first foundation of it here, tho' he was oblig'd to retire to *Mentz* in order to perfect it. But as this, I conceive, has been sufficiently confuted already, it is unnecessary to repeat it here. I have likewise given the reader an account of another controversy in favour of *Strasburgh* and *John Mentel* started about two hundred years after the discovery of this Art, by Dr. *Mentel* of the university of *Paris*, who asserted that his ancestor was the Inventor of Printing; which discovery he was robb'd of by a treacherous servant, whom he suspects to be our famous *John Faust*. I hope, I have fully expos'd the vanity of this author's pretences, and his unfaithfulness in quoting testimonies in behalf of *Mentel*; against whom, were there no other evidence, it would be sufficient to allege, that there is not one book printed in his name before the year 1473, and that without any mention of the city of *Strasburgh*.

ALL that is proper to add at present is, that our author, to elude, if possible, the force of this objection, affirm'd that this book, which *John Mentel* finish'd anno 1473, was no less than twenty years a printing, and contain'd ten large volumes in fol. so that it must have been begun about 1453, i. e. four years before *Faust* had printed any work in his name, but this is a groundless conjecture.

THIS book is the *Speculum Morale* of *Vincentius Belvacensis*, a very voluminous work; but that it should have taken up 20 years in printing, is only said without any authority or testimony for it; however we may allow it to have taken up some considerable time, without lessening the validity of what has been heretofore affirm'd after several eminent authors, viz. that *John Faust*, at his return from *Paris*, where he had been selling his printed bibles for manuscripts, stay'd some time at *Strasburgh*, where he taught *Mentel* his Art. The only difficulty against it is, that if this last had been let into the secret so soon, there would be some earlier and a greater number of his productions to be seen. The former is easily

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easily answer'd by the sad experience we have, of too many of the old monuments of the Art being either lost, or not yet discover'd; and the latter, *De la Caille* endeavours to account for, who peremptorily asserts this *Mentel* to be the same with *John Mentelen* or *Mantben de Geretzheim*, who went and settled at *Venice*, and associated himself with the famous *John de Cologne*, one of the most eminent and first Printers of that city about the year 1474, with whom he printed several valuable editions, mention'd in the chapter of *Venice*.

If this assertion be well grounded, 'tis superfluous to seek for any of his works at *Strasburgh*, except the *Speculum* beforemention'd, if even that was printed there. But as *la Caille* has not mention'd his authority, I shall not dare to assert the truth of this too positively. We must not omit taking notice, that this *John Mantben* continued printing at *Venice*, with his partner aforesaid, 'till the year 1480, as the reader may see by what has been said of him there; whereas *John Mentel* is affirm'd by the Dr. from the authority of *Gaspar Benegerus* to have dy'd at *Strasburgh* two years before, viz. 1478, in honour of whom the great bell of that city was order'd to be rung the Sunday following¹, which is never done but upon the death of a prince or some very great man. I shall not take upon me to decide the controversy, but only say, that if the *Speculum* aforesaid, be *Mentel's* first edition at *Strasburgh*, it will follow, that he was outstript, at least by two years there, by the famous *Henry Eggelstein*, of whom we have only two volumes, both printed anno 1471; the last of which is perhaps one of the largest that ever was printed, the paper of it being of an extraordinary size, exceeding even that which is commonly call'd *Charta magna*. It hath likewise another remarkable particular, which is, that the beginning and end of it are printed in red, and is therefore the first edition done after that manner.

THE Printers therefore of *Strasburgh* from 1471 to 1500 are as follows,

1. HENRY EGCELSTEIN abovemention'd, 2 edit. dated 1471.
2. JOHN MENTEL, 1 edit. viz. *Vincentii Speculum morale* in ten large

¹ Obiit dominus *Johannes Mentel* sabatho post conceptionem virginis *Maria*, anno MCCCC LXXIIX; et factus est ei pulvis cum campana magna Dominica sequenti. *Paræ. &c. pag 93.*

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volumes, fol. and suppos'd to be printed at *Strasburgh*, tho' no mention is made of the place where it was done; it is dated 1473.

3. MARTIN FLACH or *Flachen* citizen of *Basil*, 7 edit. from 1475 to 1500.

4. LEORIUS USNER citizen of *Strasburgh*, 2 edit. from 1476 to 1477.

5. MARC REYNHARD of *Strasburgh* and } 2 edit. from 1480 to 1482.

6. NICOL. de *Philippis* of *Gernsheym*,

7. JOHN PRUS, 1 edit. 1487.

8. GEORGE REYNHARD or *de Grunynger*, 3 edit. from 1489 to 1498: he had likewise printed at *Rome*, as we have seen under that head *anno* 1475.

ORLANDI has likewise given us a list of 84 edit. printed at *Strasburgh* without Printers names.

Article IV. BOLOGNA, 1471.

BOLOGNA or *Bolonia*, in *Latin Bononia*, an ancient and famous city of *Italy*, at the foot of the *Alps*, upon the river *Rhine*, in the territories of the pope, was formerly call'd *Felsina*, from *Felsinus* king of the *Thuscans*, which signifies a shield. This name she preserv'd above nine hundred years, and always was eminent for the number of learned men and brave warriors which she produc'd. This city afterwards was call'd *Bologna* from *Buoi* king of the *Gauls*, and in process of time *Bononia* and *Bolonia*. It is at this day a celebrated university, endow'd with extraordinary privileges from emperors, popes, &c. and such a concourse of students resort thither, that it is recorded of one of their doctors and professors, the learned *Azzo*, that he was oblig'd to read his lectures in some publick market places, to above ten thousand students. For these and other reasons, not necessary to be given here, it has been styl'd *Archigymnasium mundi*, and the mother and founder of universities¹. 'Tis no wonder therefore that the Art of Printing receiv'd such early encouragement from it, and that it had so many famous workmen, eminent for the beauty and correctness of their impressions.

¹ Bononia docet Mater studiorum,
Petrus ubique Pater, Legumque Mater.

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IT is likewise observable that it had not the Art brought to it by foreigners, as other famous cities, *Rome, Venice, Paris, &c.* but was oblig'd for it to one of her own citizens, viz.

I. BALTHAZAR AZZOGUIDI, anno 1471.

A person well born and of good education, who set up his Press in that city, and continued printing, at least, till the year 1480, after which we hear no more of him. His editions are all in a neat Roman character, and printed with great accuracy, the first of which, viz. *Ovid's Metamorphoses* anno 1471, has the colophon which you'll find in the margin¹. By which it is plain that he was the first who practis'd the Art of Printing, of which he improperly calls himself the inventor in his own city of *Bolonia*. We have 12 editions of him from 1471 to 1480.

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| 2. HUGO RUGERIUS and, | } of <i>Regio</i> , 6 edit. from 1474 to 1495. |
| 3. DONINUS BERTOCH | |
| 4. DOMINIC de <i>Lapis</i> , 3 edit. 1476 to 1477. | |
| 5. JOHN SCRIBER of <i>Ausburgh</i> , call'd also | } 2 edit. both 1478. |
| JOHN de <i>Annunciata de Augusta</i> , | |
| 6. HENRY de <i>Colonia</i> , 5 edit. from 1479 to 1486. | |
| 7. JOHN de <i>Noerdlingen</i> and | } 8 edit. from 1480 to 1488. |
| 8. HENRY de <i>Harlem</i> , | |

THE last of these did likewise associate himself first with

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| 9. MATH. CRESCENTINUS, and afterwards with |
| 10. JOHN WALBECK; so that 3 of the 8 editions above-nam'd were printed, one with the former, and two with the last. |
| 11. BALTHASSAR de <i>Hyruberia</i> , 2 edit. both 1481. |
| 12. DOMINIC de <i>Silvestro de Cini</i> , 1 edit. 1482. |

13. PLATO de BENEDICTIS; or DEI BENEDETTI of *Bologna*, 1483.

This Printer hath never been excell'd by any person in the beauty and elegance of his Roman character; and as his editions are extremely fine

¹ Balthassar Azzoguidi civis Bononiensis honestissimo loco natus, primus in sua Civitate artis impressoriae Inventor, ad Utilitatem Humani generis impressit, A. MCCCC LXXI.

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and correct, so he hath taken care to tell the world of it in almost every colophon at the end of his books, by adding some pompous title to his name, such as *impressor solertissimus, artis hujus exactor probatissimus, quam pulcherrimis Characteribus, &c.* He is thought to have either learn'd the Art at *Venice*, or furnish'd himself with his Fonts from thence. The first is most probable, because we find an edition of *Dion. Cbrysoſtom's Oratio de regno*, 4to. suppos'd to have been printed by him at *Venice* anno 1483. But *F. Orlandi* thinks this supposition ill-grounded, and therefore hath mention'd neither him, nor that edition under the article of *Venice*, but has put it at the head of those printed by him at *Bologna*, where having found a book, printed anno 1481, intitled *Baptistæ Mantuani Carmelitani parthenices*, he reprinted it with his own name and colophon. All his impressions as yet known, the two foremention'd ones included, amount to sixteen, the last of them, viz. *Vegetius* and others *de Re Militari* is dated 1495.

14. BENEDICT HECTOR, 1478.

He was a very good Printer and Bookseller, who employ'd many Printers of this city, and kept likewise some presses of his own a-going, as appears by those impressions we have of him; all which are so correct and beautiful, that he is justly rank'd among the best workmen of his time, and *Ugerius de Pontremulo* has honour'd some of his impressions with epigrams in praise of him. We have four and twenty of them still extant from 1488 to 1499.

15. BACILIERUS } *Bacilieris,*
 BASSALERUS } or de *Bassaleris,*
 BAZALERUS } *Bazaleris,* } 1489.

WE have but three editions of this Printer from 1489 to 1493, in each of which he spells his name differently. He was an excellent Printer, and a rival of the famous *Plato de Benedictis*, whom he endeavour'd to surpass in beauty of letter, finess and accuracy of his impressions, which tho' they do not excel, yet are not at all inferior to those of his corral, and he doth not fail accordingly to give himself some of these pompous epithets which we have seen of the other; and it is observ'd that some of *Plato's* impressions were no sooner come out of the press, but *Bacilierus* went immediately to work upon them, and publish'd another

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other edition in a small time after. Such an emulation could not chuse but have proved an honour and service to the Art had it liv'd till now.

16. JOHN JAMES FONTANESE, 2 edit. both dated 1492.

17. HECTOR FAELLI *Bolognese*, 2 edit. from 1492, to 1500.

18. HERCULES NANI, 2 edit. from 1493, to 1494.

19. JUSTINIAN *de Ruberia*, 2 edit. from 1495, to 1499.

JOHN ANTONY *Platonides Benedictorum Bolognese*, 1 edit. 1499.

With a small number printed at *Bologne* without the Printers names.

Article V. The City of TREVISO.

TREVISO, in *Latin Tarvisium*, a noble and ancient city of *Italy*, and the capital of the province of that name, by reason of its vicinity to *Venice*, under whose dominion it is, had the Art of Printing soon introduced. *Gerard de Liza*, a *Flemming* by birth, and an excellent Printer, was the first that set it up here. We can only say in general both of him and this city, that the few editions we have left of theirs are very elegant and in a neat character.

1. GERARD *de Liza or LISIS, or GERARD de FLANDRIA*, 1471.

WE have but four editions of him; the two first are dated 1471, the third 1476, and the last 1492, which makes me hope that more of them will still come to light, these being esteem'd very curious, not only for their elegance, but likewise for their correctness.

2. HERMAN LICHTHENSTEIN *or LEVILAPIS of COLOGN*, 1477.

THIS Printer we have spoken of under the chapter of *Venice*; and we shall again mention him under the city of *Vincenza*, where he printed for some time. At *Treviso* we have only two editions printed by him, both dated 1477. He died *anno* 1494, whilst he was printing that voluminous work of *Vincentius*, entituled, *Speculum Morale*.

3. BERNARD *de Colonia*, 2 edit. 1477, 1478.

4. MI-

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4. MICHEL MANZOLI or MANZOLINI, 7 edit. from 1477 to 1480.
5. BARTHOLOMEW *de Consoloneriis*, 4 edit. from 1478 to 1483.
6. BERNARDIU CELERIUS *de Luere*, 2 edit. 1480, 1483. after which he went to *Venice*, where he associated himself with *Bernardin de Novaria* as has been mention'd under that Head.
7. JOHN VERCELLIUS, or *Vercellensis*, 6 edit. from 1480 to 1494. after which he went to *Venice*, where you will find him under that head, from anno 1486 to 1499. In this last place he calls himself *John Rubens Vercellensis*.
8. PAUL *de Ferrara* and ;
9. DIONYS BERTOCH, } 2 edit 1481, 1482.
- DIONYS BERTOCH and
10. PEREGRINE PASQUALI, } 2 edit. 1482, 1485.

THERE is scarce one Printer to be met with in history, who chang'd oftner his place of abode, his partners, and even his name, than *Dennis Bertoch*; who sometimes calls himself *Bertoch Doninus*, and sometimes *Dionys*, sometimes *de Bononia*, and at other times *de Regio*. His first works, viz. for 1482 to 1490, were printed at *Treviso*; immediately after which we find him at *Venice*, where he stay'd till 1492; thence he remov'd to *Regio*, and associated himself with *Marc Antony de Baccilieri*; and lastly he settled at *Modena* about the year 1499. We find but two of their impressions under this head, dated 1482 and 1485.

BUT tho' we have rank'd them under the article of *Treviso*, yet they bear no name of any place, and may indeed be suppos'd done by them at *Venice*, where they printed about this time; however I have chosen to follow *F. Orlandi*, who thinks it more probable that they were done at *Treviso*.

THERE is an edition printed by *Peregrine Pasquali* at *Scandiano* near the city of *Reggio*, but with a date impossible to be understood or guess'd at ;

IT is as follows,

DILIGENTIS ac ingeniosi calchographi Peregrini Pasquali exactissimâ tum operâ, tum curâ hæc Candidi ex Apiano historico & sophista traductio, Scandiani Camillo comite, impressa est. Anno a natali Christi, 15. M CCCC LCXV.

Appen-

Appendix to the foregoing chapter ; Printing set up at Ratisbon, Amberg, and Colle, 1471.

THESE three cities, tho' distant from each other, we have join'd together at the end of this chapter, for the sake of the editions printed at each of them in the same year 1471, which were too few to deserve a distinct article ; since we meet with no impressions at either of them, except the four following ; viz.

1. A T *Ratisbon* an imperial city in *Germany* upon the *Danube* ; *Servii comment. in Virgilium*, fol. without the Printer's name. 1471. Orl.

2. A T *Amberg* in the *Palatinate*, now subject to the elector of *Bavaria* ; *Marc. Tull. Cicer. Orationes omnes*, fol. without the Printer's name. 1471. Orl.

3. A T *Colle* a citadel situate upon a hill in *Tuscany*, and subject to the duke of that name ;

(1.) *OPPIANI Cilix*, qui claruit sub imper. *Caracallâ*, *halieuticon sive de naturâ & venatione piscium libri quinque*, 4to. per. Gallum Bonum. 1471. Orl.

(2.) *JACOBI de Voragine legenda aurea*, ibid. without the Printer's name. Orl. 1471.

C H A P. VII.

Printing brought into the Cities of Naples, Florence, and Ferrara, anno 1471, and to Nurembergh, Verona, Parma, Mantua, Derventer and Padua, anno 1472 ; a List of the Printers, and their Works, with other particulars, till 1500.

Article. I. The City of NAPLES.

NAPLES, in *Latin* *Neapolis* and *Parthenope*, is the metropolis of the kingdom of that name, in *Italy*. It was formerly govern'd by kings of its own, but afterwards became subject to the crown of *Spain*, and is

NOW

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now under the emperor of *Germany*. This city has been the residence of men of the most distinguish'd wit and learning, in ancient and modern ages; as *Virgil*, who is said to have writ his *Georgicks* here; *Livy*, *Horace*, *Claudian*, *Petrarch*, *Bocatellus Panormitanus*, *Laurentius Valla*, the great restorer of *latinity* and eloquence; *Perillus*, an elegant *Italian* poet; and many others of conspicuous merit. The great number of learned men in this city, particularly, when printing became known and spread itself over *Europe*, was a sufficient inducement for some of the best Printers to settle there. But none encourag'd the Art and artists more, than *Ferdinand III.* king of *Naples*, whom we had occasion to mention before, upon the account of the free access, which the learned had to his person, and their epistolary correspondence with him, and who liv'd at the time of the infancy of the Art. As his learning was equal to the esteem he had for the learned, I doubt not but it was he who procur'd the famous *Sixtus Ruffinger* a learned and pious priest, who was a native of *Strasburgh*, to settle in his capital. This seems more than probable, not only because he was the first who set up a press at *Naples*, but from the great marks of esteem which that prince shew'd him; insomuch, that having discover'd his intention to return to his own country, he try'd all possible means to divert him from it, and even offer'd him a noble bishoprick, or any other preferment, if that could have fix'd him in his dominions. But this venerable old man, whether out of modesty, or rather a desire of spending the small remainder of his days in his native city, refus'd the king's offer, and return'd home loaden with the presents of that generous monarch. *Rieffinger* was not only a Printer, but a clergyman, and famous for his great learning; yet as he continued but a short time at *Naples*, we have few editions of his. *Orlandi* gives him a contemporary and fellow citizen, viz. *Peter* of *Strasburgh*, who settled there about the same year; but as I do not find that he printed any thing in company with *Rieffinger*, or that any of his impressions are left, I shall say no more of him.

WE have but four impressions of *Sixtus Ruffinger*, or *Rieffinger*, two dated *anno 1471* and *1472*, the other two without date. They are all curious and correct, and two of them have *Latin* epigrams at the end
in

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in his commendation. We don't find that he carried on the business after he came again to his native place.

2. BARTHOLD RING of *Strasburgh*, 1 edit. 1475.

3. MATTHIAS MORAVUS de *Olumuntz*, 7 edit. from 1475 to 1499.

THE first of whose impressions, viz. *Seneca's* works is remarkable for its wrong date MLXXV for MCCCCLXXV. We find likewise an impression of his done at *Genoa* in company with *Michael de Monacho*, viz. *Supplementum Summæ quæ pisanella vocatur*, fol. Januæ 10. Cal. *Julii millesimo quadringentesimo* LII. quarto, instead of LXX. quarto: his corrector was *Junianus Majusa Neapolitan*, and a professor of grammar and rhetorick, who publish'd the following edition, *Justiniani Maii Parthenopei liber de priscorum proprietate verborum*, fol. with this colophon, *Impressere Matthias Moravus impressor solertissimus & venerabilis Monachus Blasius Theologus* 1475, which book has been much esteem'd and reprinted in many places.

4. ARNOLD de *Bruxella* or *Brussels*, 5 edit. from 1475 to 1477.

5. JOHN ADAM de *Polonia*, 1 edit. 1478.

6. CONRARD GULDEMUND, 1 edit. 1478.

7. FRANCIS de *Dino* of *Florence*, 2 edit. 1480 to 1487. He went afterwards to *Florence*, where we shall find him under that head.

8. AYOLF de *Cantbono* citizen of *Milan*, 1 edit. 1492.

THIS piece which is known but by few, is intitled, *L' Aquita*, and was compos'd in *Latin* by *Leonard Aretino*, and by him translated into *Italian*. It consists of four books, the first treats of the origin of the world, and the off-spring of *Jupiter*. The second of the departure of *Aeneas* from *Troy*, and of the kings of *Italy*. The third of the actions and sayings of *Julius Cæsar*. And the fourth of the descendants of *Julius Cæsar*.

THERE are many others done here without Printer's name.

Article II. The City of FLORENCE.

FLORENCE, the metropolis and seat of the dukes of *Tuscany*, and a noble university, was not oblig'd to foreigners for this Art, since it was brought within her gates by one of her own citizens *Bernard Cennini*:

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We do not find that he went to any other city in order to learn it, but being a considerable gold-smith, and having two sons, viz. *Dominic* and *Peter*, who were very ingenious artificers, and the latter a person of letters, they set themselves about cutting of punches, sinking of matrices, and, in short, got the whole apparatus of a Printing-house made within their house; insomuch that they were in a capacity of printing before the year 1471. The first book and only one we have left, which is the reason why he has been unknown to all our annalists till *F. Orlandi*, was *Virgil's* works with *Servius's* commentaries, which they began to print on the 7th of *November* 1471, and finish'd *October* the 5th 1472. The preface and colophon of this not only giving an account of their ingenuity and diligence, but containing likewise something remarkable, I shall refer the original to the margin, and insert it here in *English*. The book is printed in the father and his son *Dominic's* name, and *Peter* the other son was the reviser and corrector of it.

1. BERNARD, and 2. DOMINIC CENNINI Citizens of Florence, 1471.

VIRGILII opera omnia cum comm. Servii, & in fine *Æneid.* ejusdem *Servii* de *Natura syllabarum* libellus ad *Aquilinum*, fol. *Florentiæ*. *Orl.* 1471. ¹.

¹ In principio post præfationem ad lectorem;
Florentia VII idus Novembres
MCCCCLXXI.

Bernardus Cenninus aurifex omnium judicio præstantissimus, & *Dominicus* ejus *F.* egregiæ indolis adolescens, expressis ante calibe characteribus, ac deinde fufis literis volumen hoc primum imprefferunt. *Petrus Cenninus Bernardi* ejusdem filius quantâ potuit curâ & diligentia emendavit, ut cernis.

Florentinis ingeniis nil ardui est.
Finis.

Bernardus Cenninus aurifex omnium judicio præstantissimus, & *Dominicus* ejus *F.* optimæ indolis adolescens imprefferunt. *Petrus* ejusd.

Bernardi F. emendavit; cum antiquissimis autem multis exemplaribus contulit, imprimisque illi curæ fuit, ne quid alienum *Servio* ascriberetur; ne quid recideretur, aut deesset, quod Honorati esse pervetusta exemplaria demonstrarent. Quoniam vero plerisque juvat manu propria suoque more Græca interponere, eaque in antiquis codicibus perpauca sunt, & accentus quidem difficillimi imprimendo notari possunt, relinquendum ad id spatia duxit. Sed cum apud homines perfectum nihil sit, satis videri cuique debet, si hi libri (quod vehementer optamus) præ aliis emendati reperientur.

Absolutum opus nonis Octobris MCCCC LXXII *Florentiæ*. *Orl.* p. 130, 131.

After

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After the preface (which was at the end of the book) are the following words:

„ AT *Florence* VII Ides *Novemb.* 1471.

„ BERNARD CENNINUS a most excellent gold-smith, in the opinion of all men, and *Dominic* his son, a youth of an extraordinary genius, having first made their steel punches, and afterwards cast their letters from them, printed this their first work. *Peter Cenninus* another son of the said *Bernard* hath us'd his utmost care in correcting it, as you see it.

Nothing is too hard for a Florentine genius.

FINIS.

And after,

The colophon runs thus:

„ BERNARD CENNINUS a most excellent goldsmith, &c. as in the last, and *Dominic* his son, a youth, &c. printed (this book); *Peter* the son of the same *Bernard* corrected it, having first compar'd it with the most ancient manuscripts. It was his first care that nothing should pass under the name of *Servius*, but what was truly his, or any thing, that was plain from the most ancient copies to be his, might be maim'd or wanting. But because many persons choose to write the *Greek* quotations with their own hands, and there are but few to be met with in the old copies, and their accents cannot be printed but with great difficulty, he thought proper to leave blank spaces for them. But as man can produce nothing absolutely perfect, it will be sufficient for us, if these books be found (as we heartily wish) more correct than any other.

THE work was finish'd on the Nones of *October* 1427 at *Florence*.

3. FR. DOMINIC *de Pistoria* and }
4. FR. PETER *de Pisa* } *Monks*, 1477.

THERE are some *Florence* editions with this inscription, *Apud sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli*, which have given *F. Orlandi* no small trouble to discover the Printers, who liv'd near that place; at length he found that it was a cloister of *Dominican* fryers, who liv'd in a little convent upon the plain of *Ripoli*, without *St. Nicholas's* gate at *Florence*, near which place he found four editions, the first of which is printed with the above-

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mention'd Monk's name as follows, *Improntata in Firenze al Monasterio di santo Jacopo di Ripoli del'Ordine del Fratri Predicatori per Mano di dua religiosi Frate Dominico da Pistoja e Frate Piero da Pisa Firenze 1477.* The other three mention only the name of the place, *Impress. apud sanctum Jacobum de Ripoli.* The second and third are dated 1478, the last is without date.

5. NICOLAS ALLEMANUS, or *Nicolas de Lorenzo Dallamagna*, and *Della Magna*, 5 edit. from 1477 to 1485.

6. NICOLAS de Brestaw, 2 edit. 1478.

7. ANTONIUS BARTHOLOMÆI *Miscomini*, 12 edit. from 1481 to 1494.

8. FRANC. de Dino of Florence, 2 edit. 1487, 1490.

THIS Printer work'd at *Naples* about the year 1480 as we have seen before; after which he remov'd to *Florence*, and printed the above-mention'd editions, the first of which wants the place's name, but is reasonably suppos'd to have been printed there rather than at *Naples*, because its character is different from that us'd at the latter.

9. ANTONIUS FRANCISCI *Venetian*, 1 edit. 1487.

10. DEMETRIUS CALCONDILLA MILANESE, a native of Crete, 1488.

HE was a person of admirable skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and at first a corrector of the press; but afterwards he turn'd Printer, first at *Florence*, and then at *Milan*, anno 1499, where we have mention'd him under that article. The only book known to have been printed by him at *Florence*, is a beautiful edition of *Homer* in fol. of which I have seen two copies. It is printed in a fine *Greek* character with a large margin and distance between the lines; and considering that it was the first volume printed in *Greek*, is a very curious and valuable piece, and bears the following title.

HOMERI opera omnia cum textu Græco, Labore & Industriâ Demetrii Mediolanensîs Cretensîs. Sumptibus Bernardi Nerisii & Nerii Tenaïdis Florentinorum, fol. idib. Jan. Florentiæ, 1488.

11. FRANCIS BONA CORSI, 9 edit. from 1490 to 1499.

12. BARTHOLOMEW P. *Florentine*, 2 edit. 1492 1493.

13. LAU-

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13. LAURENCE FRANCISCI de ALOPA, *Venetian*, 1494,

THIS was a very ingenious and famous Printer both in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. Jo. Andreas Lascaris, a noble *Grecian*, and one of the most distinguish'd critics and poets of that time, designing to revive, as much as possible, the study of those languages, especially of the *Greek*, chose this *Laurence* for his Printer, and corrected his copies. 'Tis remarkable that his editions in the *Greek* are all printed in fine capitals throughout, the use of which was till then unknown, if we except four or five to be met with in some old impressions and manuscripts. Mr. *Mattaire* hath given us a short specimen of the first of these curious editions, with the preface of *Lascaris*, in *Latin* capitals likewise, interspers'd with *Greek* words; the figures and letters of which, as well as the number of words in each line, and of the lines in each page, answer exactly to those of that edition. He hath added some remarks upon them, which the curious reader may find in his *Annales Typograph.* from p. 267 to 285. We have five editions of his, all in *Greek*, the first and second are dated 1494 and 1496, the rest are without date.

14. LAURENCE MORGIANI, } 4 edit. from 1495 to 1497.

15. JOHN of *Mentz*,

16. SOCIETAS COLUBRI [*or the fraternity of the Snake*] 1 edit. 1497.

17. PHILIP JUNTA or *de Junta*, 2 edit. 1497 and 1500 both *Greek*.

18. GERARD *de Harlem*, 1 edit. 1498.

19. LEONARD *de Arigis de Cesoriaco*, 1 edit. 1499, besides many others which have no Printers names.

Article III. The City of FERRARA, 1471.

FERRARA is an ancient city built in the time of *Theodosius II*, surrounded afterwards with a strong wall by the Exarch of *Ravenna*: it was made an university by the Emperor *Ferdinand II*, and has always been famous for men of learning and valour and for ingenious artificers. An. 1598 it pass'd from the dominion of the *Marquesses of Este* to that of the

Popes.

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Popes of *Rome*, under which it has continu'd ever since: hither the Art of Printing was brought by one of its own citizens, viz.

I ANDREAS GALLUS, 1471.

It appears by the colophon to his first impression, which you will find in the margin ¹ that he was either a *Frenchman* or of *French* extraction, tho' a citizen of *Ferrara*, which last might be bestow'd on him upon the account of his being the first person who set up his press there; the like encouragement having been given by many other cities to their first Printers: but whether he brought it thither from some other place, or devis'd it at home as *Gennini* did at *Florence*, is neither easy, nor very material, to guess: he was a good Printer and his editions are still esteem'd by the curious.

We have but twelve of them extant from ann. 1471 to 1493.

THE rest of the Printers of *Ferrara* are as follows,

2. CARNERIUS AUGUSTINUS whose father *Bernard Augustinus* was a bookseller of the same city. We have four editions of his from 1474 to 1475 one of which, viz. *Boccacio* in *Italian* is the first poem printed in that language, it has neither date nor name of Printer or place, but the character shews it to be *Augustines*.

3. SEVERUS of *Ferrara*, 1 edit. 1476.

4. SEVERINUS bookseller of *Ferrara*, but whether this and the former be the same, or father and son, is uncertain: we have but one edition of his, viz. *Alberti Trotti de vero & perfecto Clerico* 4to 1476, in which he writes himself *per Severinum Bibliopolam Ferrariensem*. This edition *Orlandi* tells us was afterwards reprinted at *Lyons*, ann. 1535, with a *Latin* preface, importing that it was about seventy years since *Severinus* bookseller had publish'd it at *Ferrara*, by which it would appear that he had printed it ann. 1465, even before either that city or even *Rome* had receiv'd the Art: our author therefore guesses the mistake to be in the word *septuagesimus annus*, which he thinks was printed instead of *sexagesimus*, which last brings it almost to the very time.

¹ Impressi Andreas hoc opus cui *Francia* nomen
Trdedit, at civis *Ferrariensis* ego, &c.

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5. THE fifth and last Printer was *Laurence Rossi* or *Rubens*, of whom we have 6 editions from 1492 to 1497.

THERE are a few more without Printers names, the last of which is the history of Pope *Joan* in *Italian* 1497.

Article I. The City of NUREMBERGH, 1472.

NUREMBERGH or *Norimbergh*, in *Latin* *Norimberga*, is a free city in *Germany* upon the confines of *Swabia*, *Franconia*, and *Bavaria*, situate upon the river *Pegnitz*. It was formerly a democratical commonwealth, but upon some domestick sedition, it reduc'd itself to an aristocracy, in the reign of the emperor *Charles IV*, under the government of twenty four senators chosen out of so many of their ancientest families; which form of government hath been continued ever since. The city is very rich, large and populous, surrounded with a double wall above eight miles in circuit, and 180 lofty towers. It was always celebrated for producing the best artificers in every kind of handicraft, and particularly for a beautiful metal of their own making, call'd *Nurembergh* copper; the composition of which was kept with all imaginable secrecy within their walls, every workman being first sworn to it; so that the metal was almost equally dear with silver; till about the latter end of the last century, one of their own citizens came over and sold the secret here in *England*, which has made it more common, and consequently lessen'd the price of it. This metal I purposely chuse to mention because it was reckon'd very excellent for making of matrices, being far more ductile than the common copper, and not so apt to break the punches.

IT will be no easy matter to fix the time when the Art of Printing was brought to this city. *John Andreas Endters* a Printer of *Nuremberg*, who publish'd a piece on Printing, in *High Dutch*, anno 1722, and in it has given us an account of its progress in that city, acquaints us that he had met with some MS. annals, which affirm, that the Art was no sooner found out at *Mentz*, but it was immediately communicated to *Nuremberg*, which did therefore receive it about the year 1444 according to one, or 1440 according to another. 'Tis true, our author is so far from being satisfy'd with their account, that he has even taken the pains to confute them from more authentic testimonies; however, tho'

I do

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I do not design to enter into a detail of that dispute, yet I could not forbear mentioning thus much, because it serves to confirm a former observation, viz. that not only the Printers, but likewise the *Cities* themselves have taken no small pains to antedate their respective claims to this Art.

I have already taken notice in the first part of this history, pag. 22. that the discovery of the Art of Printing had been attributed by *Purbach*, and *Peter Ramus* to that learned mathematician and astronomer *John de Monte regio*, or *Regio-Montanus*, and mention'd *Manilius's* astronomy printed by him without date or places name. Our German author acquaints us upon the authority of *Gassendi*, one of the French royal mathematicians, „ that *Regiomontanus* came to *Nuremberg* about anno 1471, „ with a design to set up a Printing-house there, in order to print his „ own works and those of other learned men, with greater accuracy „ and speed, and to improve the Art of Printing in several of its branch- „ es ; but that he met with so many obstacles to his design, that he „ saw himself forc'd to make use of foreign Printing-houses, such as „ they were, till one *Bernard Walter* offer'd to bear the charges of erect- „ ing a Printing-house for him (as he likewise did towards many other „ curious inventions of his) and enabled him to print *Purbach's* new „ theory, *Manilius's* astronomy, and his own *Ephemerides* for the use of „ the publick.

Our author observes further, that as this account of *Gassendi's* doth quite overturn *Peter Ramus's* supposition of *Regiomontanus* being the inventor of the art, so it likewise shews him to have contributed much towards the improvement of it. It likewise proves that there were some Presses in this city before he came thither, but who they were that set them up, and what works they printed before that time, is what he has not been able to find out, because they have no dates or Printer's names.

THE oldest book he could find with a date, is the *Commeftorium Viti-
tiorum* of *Francis de Retza* a Dominican Fryar ; at the end of which are the words which you'll find in the margin¹ with this odd date æ LXX°.

¹ Hic Codex egregius Comeftorii vitiorum remberge anno æ LXX°. Patronarum forma-
sacre Theologie Professoris eximii *Francisci* de rumque Concordia & proportionem impressus.
Retza Ordinis predicatorum finit feliciter. Nurembergæ

which

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which our author seems to take for 1470. This book was afterwards reprinted by *Ant. Koburger* anno 1476, and afterwards anno 1496, under the following title, *Summa quæ destructorium vitiorum nominatur*, without Printer's name.

The author mentions another book of the same date, viz. *Gerson*, chancellour of *Paris*, *Commentarium super sapientis hebrei cantica*, &c. but as neither of these have the Printer's name, we shall seek somewhere else for the first Printer of *Nuremberg*. According therefore to our propos'd method of the oldest edition known, that rank will fall upon.

I. ANTONY KOBURGER.

A person eminent for learning, and the number, elegancy and correctness of his editions, which gain'd him the title of the prince of Printers among the learned of his time. At first indeed his character, tho' of the *Venetian* sort, was somewhat imperfect, and inferior to that of many of his cotemporaries; but he afterwards procur'd a new sett, which hath been justly esteem'd ever since as fine as any that have been us'd either before or after him. He was no less solicitous in correcting his works; so that tho' he was alone sufficient for that task, yet he took the learned *Frederic Pistorius* for his assistant. He spar'd no cost nor pains in procuring the best manuscripts, and always desir'd the judgment of the learned before he ventur'd to print them. The great *Jodocus Badius* hath made this short but just panegyric upon him, in a letter written to him anno 1499, and printed at the beginning of the works of *Angelus Politianus* anno 1519¹; That he was a great friend and lover of the learned, and indefatigable in printing the best copies faithfully, neatly and correctly. Mr. *Mattaire* hath given us an extract of this letter in his *Annales Typogr.* p. 79. by which the reader may see what esteem this great man was in, not only among the learned, but likewise among the best Printers of his time; and it may be said of him, that he printed more works than any of them, particularly bibles, of which the reader

¹ Litteratos omnes & colis & foves, pervigilemque curam ad bonos codices vere terse & sine mendis imprimendos adhibes.

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will find no less than 12 editions still extant, one of which is in 5, another in 6 volumes in folio; and a third with fine wooden cuts.

HE was no less diligent in printing other works, and we are told by *John And. Endters*, "That he kept daily twenty four presses at work, "and employ'd no less than an hundred journeymen whom he maintain'd without doors; they had a set hour to come to work, and to leave off, and he admitted none single into his house but oblig'd them to wait at his door till they were altogether, and then they were admitted in, and enter'd upon their respective works.

"HE was likewise a considerable Bookfeller, and kept a spacious printing-house at *Lyons* in *France*, where he had sundry law-books printed for him; besides this, he had his factors and agents in the most considerable cities in *Christendom*, and kept sixteen open shops beside ware-houses, and in all of them a considerable stock of the best books then extant, so that he never was at a loss for any good editions to supply his customers with.

THUS he continued printing both at *Nuremberg* and at *Lyons* with great success and applause, till the year 1501 if not beyond; however we don't find any edition of his of a more recent date, which makes me believe that he left off printing about that time. In 1513. *James Sachon* one of his workmen at *Lyons*, printed *Castellanus's Latin bible* for him with this colophon, *Lugduni per Jacobum Sachon expensis Antonii Koburger*. The same is likewise dated from *Nuremberg*, but is suppos'd to be the same edition with that of *Lyons*; he dy'd in this year after having been for some time a member of the chief council of *Nuremberg*; all the editions that we have of him, his bibles inclusive, from 1472 to 1500, amounts to but thirty seven, a number too inconsiderable for the many presses and workmen that he kept, which gives me room to hope that time will discover a great many more.

2. MR. *Mattaire* p. 79 tells us of one *Adam* of *Amberg* [the metropolis of the *Bavarian palatinate*] who flourish'd ann. 1472, but doth not tell us where he wrought. Our German author says that he had met with a small treatise in 4to. of a sheet and half, with his name, and the city of *Nuremberg* at the end; so that he most probably resided there, but tho' this work be without date, yet his edition of *Cicero's Orationes* printed

ed

The Printers of the City of Nuremberg. 203

ed ann. 1472, tho' without places name, may be so far presum'd to be done here, as to allow him the next place after *Koburger*,

THE rest of the Printers of this city are as follows,

3. FREDERIC CREUSNER, 5 edit. from 1473 to 1479.

4. JOHN SENSENSCHMID of *Eger*,
5. HENRY KOLER of *Mentz*, and
6. ANDREW FRISNER de *Wunsiedel*. } 1473.

KOLER was a native of *Mentz*, and in all likelihood one of *Faust's* servants who left that city soon after it was taken, and took sanctuary at *Nuremberg*.

THE last of these viz. *Frisner* after having been corrector and assistant to *John Sensenschmid* till 1478, set up a Printing-house himself, which appears from many of his books which bear his name, as Printer and editor. He had study'd for some time in the university of *Leipsick*, with a relation of his, *Erasmus Frisner*, a Dominican Fryar, who tho' but twenty seven years of age had compos'd several books, the printing of which he committed to his kinsman *Andrew*, who printed them some time after at *Nuremberg* where he dwelt, as appears by several of his books from 1473 till 1478, after this having taken his degree of master of arts he remov'd again to *Leipsick*, where he was soon after chosen professor of divinity, and attain'd even to the honour of *Rector Magnificus* of that university, to which place he got all his Printing-tools convey'd: he went from thence to *Rome*, where pope *Julius II.* made him *Papæ & sedis apostolicæ primarius ordinarius*. By his last will which he made at *Rome* ann. 1504, he left a noble legacy for the erection of a college at *Wunsiedel*, for the education and maintenance of young students of the family of the *Frisner's* which they enjoy to this day, he left them also his *Historia Lombardica* which he had printed whilst at *Leipsick*. He likewise bequeath'd all his printing materials to the convent of the dominicans of *Leipsick*, and expresses himself thus, *Item, I leave my iron chest, presses, instruments and other utensils and materials for printing, together with twenty florens rhenish to pray for my soul and for buying the monks a better dinner than they us'd to have in the Prior's refectory—the day when they perform my obsequies.*

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WHAT use the monks made of the Printing-press, &c. I can no where find: we have but four editions printed by the afore said three partners from 1473 to 1487.

7. CONRARD LENTORIUS. We have but one *Latin Bible* with the apostills of *Nich. de Lyra* fol. 1482.

8. GEORGE STUCHS or *Flucks de Sultzbach*, we have but one missal of his, adorn'd with rubricks 1484.

9. GASPAR HOCHFEDER, our German author calls him *Hochfelder*. 2 edit. 1491 and 1494.

WITH about 60 more without Printers names.

MR. ENDTERS mentions some other Printers before 1500, but as he gives us no account of their works, we shall say no more of them.

BEFORE I leave the city of *Nuremberg* I cannot but take notice that it is also famous for being the native place, and constant residence of the great Painter, Engraver, Mathematician and Printer *Albert Durer*.

MARK ANTONIO, *Raphael's* learned engraver, gives him this character, speaking of his skill in engraving and of his other excellent talents; „ That if so excellent, so exact, and so universal a genius had „ been cultivated in *Tuscany*, instead of *Germany*, and had form'd his „ study according to the excellent pieces which he might have seen at „ *Rome*, as the rest of our celebrated painters have done, he would have „ prov'd the best in that respect that *Italy* ever produc'd, as he really „ was the greatest and most accomplish'd genius that *Germany* could „ ever boast of.

THIS great man was born ann. 1471. His father observing the early marks of his genius to all the liberal sciences, spar'd no cost to have it improv'd by all possible means (travelling excepted) and by the best masters in *Germany*. But tho' his other talents have been highly celebrated by the learned, yet I never met with any who took notice of his having been a printer, (no not even his countryman and fellow-citizen, author of a Piece on the Subject of Printing &c. in *Nuremberg*, mentioned in the beginning of this article) tho' several of his works are preserv'd in divers libraries both publick and private. I have seen some of them
very

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very beautiful, nor do I doubt but that his genius for painting and engraving, led him to the other two branches of cutting upon wood and Printing, that he might be able to perform the whole work himself, without the danger of having any part of it spoil'd by unskilful hands, and the better to print the descriptions of his cuts, &c. in a more elegant manner than cou'd possibly be done in wood. His improvement in the art of engraving or cutting upon wood, was carried by him to its utmost perfection, as all persons must own who have seen any of his works.

The part of shadowing which is call'd cross-hatching, and which has been lost for many years, and conducted (if not wholly invented) by him with such extraordinary beauty and truth, join'd to the uncommon lustre of his ink, has surpass'd all the wood-cutters ever since. His reason for preferring this method of cutting on wood to that of copper plates; were; 1. The roulings-press, which is wholly us'd in the later, was not then so perfect as since; 2. His most considerable works (of which he was the author, for he scarce printed any other) being chiefly geometry, perspective, fortification and architecture as well as history, wooden cuts were much the more eligible method upon several accounts, especially when cut by such a masterly hand as his. The only difficulty was to make it subservient to his history-pieces; but that he easily surmounted by the strength of his genius; and those who have seen any of his performances even in this kind, will readily own that nothing of that nature ever equall'd them. His usual mark was the initial letters of his name AD join'd

together thus  but his most effectual way to prevent counterfeits was by giving his works a degree of beauty never yet attain'd to.

With respect to his Printing, I have already hinted, that he seldom meddled with any works but his own, as I can find; but as I have met with none done before the year 1500, tho' he probably entred into that province before that time; I shall not trouble the reader with a list of them, but content my self with subjoining an account of a few of the most considerable, which I have seen: They are esteem'd by the learned master-pieces of the kind, and preserv'd as monuments of the author's merit, being as follow;

I. THE

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1. THE history of the *Apocalypse*, consisting of a fine set of draughts upon that subject, all cut upon wood with his own hand, and with the utmost beauty and truth.

2. The history of the *four gospels*, done after the same manner, and with the same beauty. Both these sets are printed with the common press, with explanations and historical accounts of the designs placed either under them, or on the other side, or upon a distinct leaf. They are both in *fol.*

3. His book of proportions, which he did not live to finish, but was printed by his widow after his death, is likewise esteem'd another masterpiece in that kind. I shall only add, that the singular beauty of his ink, the excellency of the Press work, and in a word, the exactness of his performances do justly rank him amongst the greatest genius's of the age. I hope therefore the reader will excuse this digression in favour of a person to whom the world owes the great improvements made in the art of cutting upon wood, which has been so serviceable to the Printers in the ornamental part of their works.

Article V. The City of VERONA.

VERONA, an ancient city in *Lombardy*, famous for some noble reliicks of the old *Roman* architecture, such as amphitheatres, triumphal arches, &c. which still retain some part of their former magnificence, is likewise remarkable for having been the native place of several eminent persons, in particular, of *Cornelius Nepos*, *Emilius Maurus*, *Pliny*, *Vitruvius*, *Guarini*, and others. It receiv'd the Art of Printing very soon, yet made but small advantage of it. We find very few Printers in it, and we have but a small number of their works left. The first of them was ;

1. JOHN *de* VERONA.

WHO was a native of *Verona*, and son to *Nicolas* a doctor of physick, and the first who set up a Printing-press in that city, as appears by the colophon

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colophon of the only book extant of his, viz. *Valturius de re militari liber. fol. per Jo. Veronens. Veronæ*¹. anno 1472.

2. FELIX ANTIQUARIUS & we have but 1 edit. of theirs, dated

3. INNOCENT ZILETI. § 1476.

4. PETER MAUFER, 1480.

PETER MAUFER, was a Frenchman and an excellent Printer. The first place where he set up his press was the city of *Padua*, about 1474, as we shall shew in its proper place. Thence he came to *Verona* in 1479, and after a short stay there, went to *Venice* in 1483, and associated himself with *Nicol. Contengo*, as mention'd in the chapter of that city. We have only the following book printed by him here.

JOSEPHI opera Latinè, Ludovico Contrada interprete, fol. per Petrum Mauser Gallicum, oct. cal. Jan. pont. max. Sixto 4. Venetorum duce Joanne Mocenigo, in inclytâ civitate Veronæ 1480.

5. BONINO de BONINI de RAGUSIO, 1482.

Who printed at first in the city of *Venice*, with *Andreas de Paltafchis* anno 1478; whence he remov'd to *Verona*, and at last to *Brescia*, where he continued printing much longer; we have but three of his editions done at *Verona*, 1482 and 1483.

6. PAUL FRIDENPERGER of *Passaw* in *Germany*, 1 edit. 1486. with a small number without Printer's names.

Article 6. The City of PARMA, 1472.

PARMA is another ancient city in *Lombardy*, call'd by the Romans *Gallia Cisalpina*, situate in a very pleasant large plain, and so well furnish'd with pasture ground, that it is recorded by *Martial* for the great number of cattel it bred, *Tondet & innumeros Gallica Parma greges.* It

¹ Joannes ex Verona oriundus Nicolai Cyurgie Medici filius, Artis impressorie Magister hunc de Re Militari librum Literis & figuratis signis in sua Patria primus impressit. MCCCCLXXIII.

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was once under the pope's government, and given by *Paul III.* to his nephews, with the title of dukes of *Parma*, under whom it has continu'd ever since. Tho' this city receiv'd the Art of Printing so early as the year 1472, yet it had but very few artificers, and a small number of editions printed there. It may indeed be reasonably suppos'd that these being so much inferior to those of *Venice, Rome, Paris, &c.* have been mostly destroy'd; and the same may be said of many other cities. However *Parma* deserves to be remember'd, if not for the number and excellency of her Printers, yet for having given birth to some of the greatest of that time, who were (perhaps for want of sufficient encouragement here) oblig'd to settle in other parts of *Italy*. Among these were the famous *Antony Zarot*, who printed at *Milan* a great many fine and correct volumes, as we have shewn under that article, *Fausto, Vincenzo*, and *Pellegrino del Bonardi*, and *Bartholomew de Parma* in *Bologna*, and *Matthew Capcasa* in *Venice*, *Mich. Manzoli* in *Treviso*, with many more whose name and place of birth, &c. the reader will find in the article of each of those cities. The first book, we meet with printed here, is the works of the famous lawyer *Baldus*; but hath no Printer's name, tho' it is dated at *Parma ann. 1471*. However 'tis probable it was printed by *Stephen Corali*, a native of *Lyons*, who is the first in our list, and printed (or rather might reprint) the same work the year following.

1. STEPHEN CORALI, 5 edit. from 1473 to 1476.
 2. AUGUSTINE GENOENSIS (or of *Genoa*) 1 edit. 1477.
 3. ANDREA PORTILIA, 4 edit. from 1479 to 1481.
 4. ANGELO UGOLETTI *de Parma*, 4 edit. from 1493 to 1499.
- AND near twenty more without Printers names.

Article VII. MANTUA.

MANTUA one of the most ancient cities of *Lombardy*, situate in the middle of an island, form'd by the river *Mincio*, had its name and origin from *Manto* daughter of *Tiresias* a Theban augur, she bore a son call'd *Ocnus*, who built a city near the river *Po*, and from his mother's name call'd it *Mantoa* or *Mantua*. After a great variety of changes, it is now subject to the house of *Austria*. It has given birth to many learned men
both

The Printers of Derventer and Padua. 209

both ancient and modern, and particularly to the immortal *Virgil*. This city cannot boast of any great merit with respect to the Art of Printing, except that it was brought thither *ann.* 1472 by some *Germans*, who came to settle there; but, as it is probable, for want of encouragement, were oblig'd to remove. We find but four of these Printers at the most, and at a considerable distance of time from each other. Of the two first we know but one edition; and two of each of the rest, as will appear from the following list.

1. GEORGE, and 2. PAUL, *Germans*, 1 edit. 1472.
3. PAUL JOHN *de Burschbach*, of the diocess of *Mentz*, who was perhaps the same with *Paul German* the latter of the two foregoing, who takes now the name of his native town instead of that of his nation, 2 edit. 1479, 1481.
4. VINCENT BERTOCH of *Reggio*, 2 edit. 1493, 1498: and some others which have no Printers names.

Article VIII. The City of DERVENTER, 1472.

DERVENTER [in *Latin Daventria*] in lower Germany, near the river *Iffel* upon the confines of lower *Gelderland*, near the city of *Utrecht* began to practise the Art of Printing ann. 1472. The 1st impression done here, viz. *Prudentius Aurelius Poeta Hispanus his poems*, 4to. has no Printer's name, but is dated *Daventriæ* 1472.

2. RICHARD PAFRADIUS, 1 edit. 1481.
3. JAMES *de Breda*, 4 edit. from 1490 to 1497, with about twenty more without Printers names.

Article IX. The City of PADUA, 1472.

PADUA or *Padova*, in *Latin Patavia* or *Patavium*, (so call'd by *Antenor* the first founder of it, in compliment to his companions, who were *Papblagonians*, and for whose sakes he call'd it by the name of their metropolis) is a rich, ancient and noble city upon the river *Brento*, and now under the government of the *Venetian* republick, famous for its hot baths and mineral waters, and resorted to from all parts of *Europe*. It

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is one of the last cities we know of that receiv'd this Art in the year 1472. in which tho' it was not very eminent either for the number of Printers or impressions, yet it publish'd several curious editions, which had not as yet appear'd in any of the foregoing cities. The two first Printers were;

1. BARTHOLOMEW *de Val de Zeebio of Padua, &c.* }
2. MARTIN *de Septem Arboribus,* }

Of these we have but three editions, 1472, 1473, 1474.

3. PETER MAUFER whom we have already mention'd under the articles of *Venice* and *Verona*: we have four editions of his printed at *Padua* from 1474 to 1479.

4. LAURENCE CANOZIUS *de Lendenaro*, 1 edit. 1474.

5. ALBERT *de Stendalia*, 1 edit. 1475.

6. JOHN HERBERT or *Herbert*, 3 edit. 1476, 1482; and one without date or places name.

7. ANTON. *de Carcano*, 1 edit. 1478.

8. MATTHEW *de Cerdonis de Windischbegrets*, 5 edit. from 1482 to 1487.

9. MOSES *de Castello*, 1 edit. 1492.

10. JEROM *de Duranti*, 1 edit. 1493, he wrought also in *Pavia* with *Christopher de Canibus*, ann. 1488.

11. LEWIS or *Alois de Como, &c.* }

12. BARTHOLOMEW *de Troffis*, } 1 edit. 1497.

With a few more without Printers names.

C H A P. IX.

The Cities of 1 Louvain, 2 Ulms, 3 Utrecht, ann. 1473. 4 Turin, 5 Genoa, 6 Brescia, 7 Aloft, ann. 1474.

Article 1. *The City of LOUVAIN.*

LOUVAIN, in *Latin Lovanium*, is a large populous and well fenced city, the capital of all *Brabant*, and one of the most frequented universities in *Europe*, founded by *John* duke of *Brabant* anno 1426.

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1426. It abounds with magnificent colleges and other sumptuous edifices, according to that of the poet.

*Postea Musarum Sedem, Collegiaque ampla
—— Lovani aspicienda dedit.*

IT is likewise famous for the vast number of its students, especially in divinity; tho' the reader will scarce forbear wondering what sort of divines they must have been, when we tell him that they had the Art of Printing near thirty years, *i. e.* from 1472 to 1500, and God knows how far beyond, and never printed one single bible in all that time, at least as I can find in any annalist; whereas we have observ'd that a *Nuremberg* Printer, namely, *Ant. Koburger* printed at least a dozen in that time; the truth is, if we judge by the small number of workmen and of impressions done here, we shall be apt to think that the Art of Printing met with but small encouragement; since if we except the first Printer, of whom we shall speak presently, I can find but two more till the year 1500, after which whoever examines the second volume of *Mr. Maittaire's Annales Typographici*, will find them run much thinner of either.

THE first press was set up here by;

1. *JOHN de Westphalia* of *Paderbourn* 1473, an eminent Printer invited to *Louvain* by some of the heads of that university, where he continu'd printing till *ano.* 1495, if we except 2 editions printed in his name if not by him; the first in the town of *Alost* in *Flanders* not far from that of *Louvain* *anno* 1474, as shall be mention'd at the end of this chapter; and the other, *viz. Epistola de Simonia Vitanda, &c. per rev. Magist. Engelbertum Cultificis, &c. Novimagii 9 Julii 1479.*

WE have nineteen editions of his from 1473 to 1495 some of which are without date, place, or Printer's name; but easily known to be his by the character.

2. *JOHN VELDENER*, 2 edit. of the *Fasciculus Temporum*, 1474 and 1476.

3. *EGIDIUS VENDER HEERSTRATEN*, 2 edit. 1486 to 1487.

And five or six more without Printer's name.

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Article II. The City of U L M S.

ULMS a considerable city in *Highb Germany*, situate near the *Danube*, between *Ausburg*, *Constance* and *Strasburgh*, and famous for the finest linnen and cambrick, with which it furnishes most parts of *Europe*, began to set up the Art of Printing sometime before the year 1473.

1. JOHN ZEINER *de Reutlingen*, 1473.

WAS the first who practis'd it there. He was a native of *Reutlingen* a small city in the duchy of *Wirtemberg*, which we have mention'd as one of the first in *Germany* that receiv'd the art, viz. ann. 1469. This Printer was, in all probability, the son or brother of *Gunter Zeiner*, who work'd at *Ausburg* from ann. 1470, and is mention'd under that article p. 122. We have but nine editions of his from 1473 to 1484, two of which are the *Latin Bible* fol. and one, viz. *Alvarius Pelagius de planctu Ecclesie* 1473, 2 vol. fol. in large paper, is reckon'd a very curious as well as scarce edition: he used to subscribe himself sometimes *Jo. Zeiner de Reutlingen* or *Reutlinga*, and sometimes *Jo. Zeiner Ulmensis Oppidi Incolam*.

2. LEONARD HOL citizen of *Ulm*, 1 edit. 1482.

3. JOHN REGER *de Kemnat*, 5 edit. from 1486 to 1497.

Article III. The City of U T R E C H T.

UTRECHT [in *Latin Ultra trajectum*] a city in *Flanders* upon the *Rhine*, and subject to the emperor of *Germany*, receiv'd the Art of Printing about ann. 1473, if not before; but its productions have been so few and inconsiderable that no annalist, *De la Caille* and *F. Orlandi* excepted, has taken any notice of them; and even the latter has been able to discover no more than three editions, little remarkable either for bulk or beauty, for which reason I suppose they are all three without Printer's name.

Article

Article IV. The City of TURIN.

TURIN [in *Latin Taurinum*] the capital of *Piedmont*, and residence of the dukes of *Savoy* now kings of *Sardinia*, is situate upon the river *Durio* nigh the *Po*, near the western *Alps*. It is a large rich and populous city and university, strongly fortify'd, and adorn'd with magnificent palaces, churches and edifices. It receiv'd the Art of Printing about *ann. 1474*. The first artists who set up their presses here were,

1. JOHN FABRI and
2. JOHANNINUS *de Petro*, } 1475.

THESE two printed together at first as appears by their first impression, *viz. Breviarium Romanum fol. per Jo. Fabri and Jobanninum de Petro*: but *Fabri* associated himself with *Martin Huz*, a Printer of the city of *Lyons*, with whom he printed some editions, and some by himself: however he continu'd still at *Turin*, and we have three editions more of his printed there by himself from 1477 to 1487, wherein he subscribes himself *Jo-Fabri Lingonensis*; as for his partner we have nothing of him but the breviary abovemention'd.

3. NICOLAS *de Benedictis* and
4. JACOPIN SVIGUS } 4. edit. from 1492 to 1494.

Article V. The City of GENOA, 1474.

GENOA [in *Latin Janua*] is a rich populous ancient city, the metropolis of *Liguria*, and capital of the republick of *Genoa*: it is fam'd for having given birth to *Christopher Columbus* the first discoverer of *America*, and for the greatness and extent of her maritime trade: we meet with two noted Printers, who came and set up their presses there, *ann. 1474. viz.*

1. MATTHIAS MORAVUS *de Olemuntz* and
2. MICHEL MONK or *de Monaco* } 1474.

BUT whether that city chose to drive any other trade, rather than that of books, or whether they found it already furnished from other places, and so met with but small encouragement; or for whatever other reason, 'tis certain they tarry'd not long there. For *Moravus* printed but

one.

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one book in company with *Monk*, and the next year remov'd to *Naples*, where he continued 'till ann. 1490, as hath been said in the article of that city; and we hear no further of *Monk*. The book they printed here is,

Supplementum summæ quæ Pisanella vocatur, fol. per Matthiam Moravum de Olomuntz & Michaellem de Monacho socium ejus, x kal. Julii Millesimo quadringentesimo LIJ. quarto; where (LIJ stands for LXX) 1474.

It is very likely, that the ill success of these two Printers, frighten'd others from coming thither, for we don't meet with any that ventur'd to settle there after them, 'till a long time after the close of the century.

Article VI. The City of BRESCIA.

BRESCIA, in *Latin Brixia*, an ancient and noble city in *Lombardy*, now under the republick of *Venice*, gave much greater encouragement to the Art of Printing, than some of the last nam'd cities. About the year 1474.

1. HENRY of COLOGN, and 2. STATIUS GALLICUS.

CAME and settled here, and printed the following book, the only one yet known to be printed by them here, viz.

Homeri Iliades per Laurentium Vallensem in Latinum sermonem traductæ &c. viii kal. Decemb. per Henr. Coloniensem & Statium Gallicum. *Brixia* 1474.

3. BONINUS de BONINIS of RAGUSIO, 1480.

WHOSE first works were printed at *Verona*, ann. 1473, as has been said. Thence he remov'd to *Brescia*, where he continu'd printing 'till ann. 1486.

HIS corrector was *Marcus Scaramuccinus* of *Palazzolo*: there are 10 editions of his printed at *Brescia* from 1480 to 1486.

4. BARTHOLOM. VERSELLENSIS Printer and bookseller, 1 edition 1482.

5. JAMES }
6. ANGEL } BRITANNICUS, brothers, of the city of *Brescia*, 1485.

THE

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THE first of these was some time partner to *John de Forlivio* at *Venice* about the year 1483, as you'll find *pag.* 149; after which he came to his own city *Brescia*, and printed sometimes by himself, and sometimes with his brother *Angelo*: his corrector was a Franciscan monk nam'd *Angel de Montelmo*: we have 11 edit. of the former, from 1485 to 1498: and 2 with both their names, *ann.* 1496.

7. *ARNOLD de Arundis*, 1 edit. without date.

8. *RABBI GHERSON*, 1492.

RABBI GHERSON was the son of *R. Moses* a jew of *Soncino*, where *Hebrew* first began to be printed: he settled first at *Brescia*, where he printed the two following editions in *Hebrew*, viz.

Mechaberith Rabb. Immanuelis, per *Rabbi Gherson*, *Brixiaë*, 1492.

Biblia Hebraicé, 8vo, per *Gersonem F. Moses Soncinatem*, *ibid* 1494.

CHEVILLIER tells us likewise *p.* 265, that he printed also at *Rimini-um* in *Romania*, a *Hebrew* edition intituled, *Col bo* without date: after this he remov'd his press to *Constantinople*, where he printed several other *Hebrew* works 'till the year 1530, in which he is suppos'd to have dy'd.

9. *BERNARDINE MISENTI de Pavia* came first from *Cremond*, where he had printed in company with *Cæsar de Parma*, *ann.* 1492: we have but 2 edit. of his done at *Brescia* from 1495 to 1497.

10. *FRANCIS LAURINI* citizen of *Brescia*, we have only one edition of his, viz. *Homer's Iliads* translated into *Latin* by *Laur. Valla*, corrected by *Baptista Farsengus* a priest of that city, 1497: it has no place's name, but is suppos'd to be done at *Brescia*.

THERE are about 20 edit. more without Printer's names.

Article VII. The City of ALOST.

ALOST is a small town in *Flanders* upon the river *Tever* between *Brussels* and *Gaunt*, in which the following Printers set up their presses, viz.

1. *JOHN de Westphalia*,
 2. *THEODORIC MARTIN of Alost*,
- } 1474.

THE

THE former of these, a native of *Paderborn*, printed in the city of *Louvain*, ann. 1473, 'till 1475, as we have shewn in that article. We find likewise a book printed by him at *Alost*, ann. 1474 in company with *Theodoric Martin*, a native of it, as follows;

Liber prædicabilium, 8vo, per Jo. de Westphalia Paderbonensem cum *Theodoric Martini*, *Maii die sexto in Alosto oppido comitatus Fland.* 1474.

THEODORIC MARTIN afterwards printed by himself, first at *Alost* 'till 1490; then at *Antwerp*, ann. 1509, and at *Louvain*, ann. 1516. His mark us'd to be a shield hanging upon a vine with T. M. tho' at other times, he made use of two anchors with his name *Theodoric Martin excudebat*. His impressions at *Alost* are but three in number, viz. two dated 1487, and the last 1490.

C H A P. X.

The Cities of Basil, Placentia, Pignerol, Essling, Vincenza, Lubeck and Valentia, ann. 1475; Rostock and Bruges, ann. 1476. At Basil, particulars relating to Amerbach and Froben; the Characters and Names of the other Printers, and Number of their Impressions, 'till the Year 1500.

Article I. The City of BASIL, 1475.

BASIL, call'd in *Latin* *Basilea*, and by *Ptolemy*, *Augusta Rauricorum*, is an ancient city and university in *Switzerland*, water'd by the two great rivers *Rhine* and *Brise*, which being navigable, increase very much the commerce and riches of it; so that in spite of all the calamities it has suffer'd in war, it is one of the most opulent cities of *Germany*. The university is likewise very celebrated for learned men in all sciences, and was founded ann. 1460, and endow'd with privileges equal to any university in *Europe*, by pope *Pius II.* In this city pope *Martin V.* call'd a council, ann. 1431; soon after which it became famous for the improvements,

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ments, which the Art of Printing, brought thither in or before the year 1475, receiv'd from some of its artificers ; who have been generally the best and most learned Printers in *Europe*, and publish'd the most elegant and correct editions of the ancient fathers, and of the *Greek* and *Latin* classicks. Of this number were *John Amerbach* and *John Froben*, of whom we shall give an account in the sequel of this article.

THE first book we meet with printed here, has no Printer's name ; nor is it possible to guess from the character, or any thing else in the edition, who 'twas done by : It is as follows ;

Roberti de Licio opus quadragesimale, Basileæ 1475.

I. BERNARD RICHEL, 1477.

A citizen of *Basil*, and an excellent Printer, was the first who put his name to his editions there ; we have but three of them. The first is his *Biblia Latina*, fol. per *Bernardum Richel civem Basiliæ 1477* ; the other two are dated 1478, 1482.

2. MICHEL WENKLER, 7 edit. from 1477 to 1486.

THE last of his impressions, viz. *Gasparini Pergamensis Epistolæ*, 4to. *F. Orlandi* tells us in his list p. 166. that this has neither date nor Printer's name ; but *Mr. Mattaire* gives us the same edition under the names of *Michel Wenkler* and *Fred. Biel*, with some verses at the end, as you'll find in that author, *Annal. Typogr.* p. 375, only he or his Printer has mistaken *Parmensis* for *Pergamensis*.

3. NICHOLAS KESLER citizen of *Basil*, 1486.

OF whom we have a *Biblia Sacra* printed at *Antwerp*, ann. 1487, and five other editions at *Basil*, from 1486 to 1494 : his first edition, viz. *Textus Sententiarum*, fol. has the colophon which you will find in the margin, in imitation of *Faust*, *Schoeffer* and others¹.

HIS last work, viz. *Libri deflorationum* does not bear *Kesler's* name ; yet it being printed in the same character with the former, is easily known

¹ Anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo octuagesimo sexto, octavo nonas Martii, non atramentali penna cannavi, sed quadam ingeni-

osa arte imprimendi, cunctipotenti aspirante deo, in egregia urbe Basiliensi Nicolaus Kesler feliciter consummavit.

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to be his. It hath at the beginning the image of an old man with a triple face, and these words over it, *Sancta Trinitas.*

4. JOHN AMERBACH, 1481.

JOHN AMERBACH, one of the most excellent and learned Printers of his time, was at first a student at *Paris*, under the famous *Jo. Lapidanus* or *a Lapide*, who, being rector of that university, invited the three *German*s thither. *Amerbach* follow'd his studies 'till he attain'd to the degree of master of arts, soon after which he came to *Basil*, and set up the Art of Printing, for which he became as famous, as he had been before for his learning.

WHAT countryman he was is not easy to determine. Some *French* annalists challenge him for theirs, and *Orlandi* calls him a *Parisian*, tho' perhaps on no other account, than that he studied so long in that university. His name is unquestionably *German*; but neither the colophons of his editions, nor his epitaph, make any mention of his country; for which reason, we shall not pretend to affirm any thing upon that head. His first care at his entrance into the business of Printing was to get a font of the most perfect round Roman, which however he made no use of in his books of divinity, the prevailing custom of those days being to print them in old Gothic. His next was to procure some of the best correctors of that age, of whom, tho' no person was more capable of correcting his works than himself, he had a greater number than any of his contemporaries. Among these were *Martin Dodo* a prebend, *Francis Wyler* a learned Franciscan fryar, *Conrard Pelican* an eminent divine, *Beatus Rhenanus* and others. He was so carefull and diligent in this province, that he would not let one sheet pass unrevis'd by himself. *Reuchlin* gives us this character of him in the preface to his book *De verbo mirifico*, that he was a man of an excellent genius, highly valuable for the neatness and correctness of his works, and well skill'd in several arts and sciences. His former master *Jo. Lapidanus* assures us¹, that he never read any books bet-

¹ Istud ego non favoris, sed veritatis gratia
ausim dicere, quod non legerim libros hac arte
effictos, quos tuis emendatiores exactiorique

stilo consummatos probaverim. Vide Chev.
p. 128.

ter or more correctly printed than his. As *Amerbach* was a man of singular piety and zeal for religion, which appears from all his prefaces, that scarce breathe any thing else; so he rather chose to consecrate his labours to that, than any other branch of learning. This induc'd him to print the works of all the ancient fathers, a task hitherto unattempted by any Printer. He began with an edition of *St. Austin*, which he finish'd not 'till the year 1505, in the old Gothic. But as he neither had a good manuscript to print after, nor sufficient assistance from the learned; we can only say that it was executed as correctly, as could be expected in those times. What he had most at heart was to publish *St. Jerom's* works, which, as he knew was impossible to be done without a competent skill in the *Latin, Greek and Hebrew* tongues, the last of which he was too old and full of business to learn, he made his three sons, youths of bright parts, divide that province among themselves; who having study'd those languages, were oblig'd by him, whether he liv'd or dy'd, to finish that edition; which they faithfully perform'd. But as this task, wherein he was engaged, was too large for one man, he took the learned *John Froben*, whom we shall mention hereafter, into partnership, and printed several valuable and distinct volumes with him. The greatest part of these particulars we have from *Erasmus*, in his prefaces to *St. Austin* and *St. Jerom*, which later edition he revis'd and publish'd anno 1515, with a dedication to the archbishop of *Canterbury*. He highly extolls the piety of the *Amerbachs*, he praises the father for having taken such care of his sons education; and the sons for the great progress they made in those tongues, and for their piety in having so exactly fulfill'd their father's desire, in the impression of a work, which had cost them so much money and pains; he frankly owns, that as he stood in great need of some assistance for the *Hebrew* tongue, so he was chiefly beholden to those three learned brothers for it¹. *Jodocus Badius* another eminent Printer gives

¹. D. *Erasm.* præfat. ad *S. Hieron.* opera. — Quod idem fecimus in *Hebraicis*, verum hac sane in parte, quod minus nostro Marte poteramus, aliorum suppetiis præstitimus, præcipue fratrum *Amerbachiorum*, *Brunonis*, *Basilii*, & *Bonifacii*, quos optimus pater *Joannes Amerbachius* velut instaurandis bonis autho-

ribus genitos, trium linguarum peritia curavit instruendos. Atque hi sane paternum animum & expectationem vicerunt etiam, nihil antiquius ducentes *Hieronymi* gloria, & hac gratia nec impendio parentes nec valetudini. *Maittaire Annal. Typogr.* vol. 1. pag. 142, 143.

their father the following encomium¹; that he was a man of indefatigable industry, and consummate skill in correcting the errors of corrupt copies; and adds, that if all Printers would but follow his example, they would be in much higher reputation with the learned, than they were.

He continu'd printing 'till the year 1528, and dyed whilst his second impression of *St. Austin* was in the press. It will not be amiss to repeat here a caution, which we have elsewhere given the reader, not to confound this *John Amerbach* with *John Averbach* of *Reutlingen*, who printed there a *Latin bible* in *fol. ann.* 1469, after which we hear no more of him. *La Caille* makes them to be the same person, led undoubtedly into that error by the likeness of their names; whereas the distance of time between them, viz. from 1469 to 1481, the different spelling of their names, with other obvious circumstances, might easily have shewn him the mistake. *Mr. Mattaire*, in the place before quoted, hath collected a great number of extracts out of prefaces, epistles, and other works of the learned, in praise of him; and it must be own'd, that too much could not be said in a man's commendation, who had spent near 50 years in the service of religion with such constant zeal and application. I shall refer the reader to that author for them, and only add the epitaph, which his youngest son *Boniface* caus'd to be set upon his tomb.

E P I T A P H I U M.

Joannes Amerbachius hic cubat

Cum Barbara Ortenbergia singul. pudicit. sæmina,

Ac Brunone Basilioque, filiis,

Præpropere quidem hinc ereptis.

Sed ante tamen eruditione sua trilingui

Per laboriosiss. Hieronym. operum recognitionem

Quibus nunc Docti ubique gentium fruuntur,

Orbi toto commendata.

Bonifacius Amerbachius

Parentibus & fratribus optimis,

¹ — Indefatigabili virum diligentia, & solertissima vitiorum expungendorum peritia —
—cujus viri si omnes similes essemus — lon-

ge plures apud literatos haberemur. *Jodoc. Bad,*
epist. ad Anon. Coburger, ann. 1499.

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Sed & Marthæ Fuschæ

*Uxori suæ Christianarum virtutum dotibus incomparabili,
Cum Ursula ac Hertexe duabus filiis.*

Hic quiescenti:

Item sibi ipsi liberis suis superstitibus

Faustinæ, Basilio, Julianæ,

Posterisque in humanæ fragilitatis memoriam

F. C.

*Parentibus, fratribusque jam olim, uxore vero in ipso ætatis flore cum fili-
olis baud ita demum expectandi censorii novissimique diei ergo collocatis.*
Anno MDXLII.

WE have but nine editions of his as yet discover'd, from 1481 to 1500: the first of them is *Vincentii Bellovacensis opuscula*, and the last *Fr. Petrar-
chæ opuscula*, 1496.

5. JOHN FROBEN, 1491.

JOHN FROBEN was a native of *Hamelburgh* in *Fraconia*, where he study'd 'till he became master of the *Latin* tongue, and afterwards went to the university of *Basil*, where he perfected himself in *Greek* also, and betook himself to the business of Printing, of which he show'd himself so good a master, that *John Amerbach* took him as assistant and partner in his laborious and expensive undertaking of publishing the ancient fathers, as we hinted before. He acquitted himself so well both in this province and his own particular one, that he acquir'd as great a reputation and esteem among the learned, as his contemporary and partner; to whom *Germany* is oblig'd for bringing thither the neat round Roman character, hitherto scarcely known there, and improving it to the last degree of perfection. No person was ever more curious in the choice of the works, which he sent to the press, than he; who had this excellent quality among many others, that he would never print any bad books, such as the fordid avarice of other Printers had overstock'd the world with; but always chose the best authors, and best manuscripts of them, sparing neither
cost.

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cost in purchasing them, nor pains in correcting and fitting them for the press; in which, tho' he was a man of singular learning, yet he always preferr'd the advice and judgment of the learned of his time, to his own. Among these were *Mark Heyland*, *Erasmus*, *Wolfgang Musculus*, *Jo. Œcolampadius*, *Wolfgang*, *Lachner* and others, all persons of the highest rank in the commonwealth of learning; for which reasons his impressions have ever been, and will continue in the highest esteem with all the learned. He was likewise particularly ambitious to have his works correct; and the abovemention'd learned men assisted him very much in that province; especially *Œcolampadius*, who tells us¹, that he could not sufficiently wonder that *Erasmus*, who alone kept three presses continually at work, who read and compar'd the *Greek* and *Latin* manuscripts, and consulted the writings of all the ancients and moderns, &c. could yet find time enough to correct the proofs of his works; and adds, that his example had not a little encourag'd him to take the laborious task of a corrector upon him. However, neither *Froben's* nor his corrector's diligence could prevent that edition, just now quoted in the margin, from having an errata of a page and half, tho' *Erasmus* gave the finishing hand to every proof.

THIS learned author, in one of his letters to *Bilibaldus Parcheimerus*, who was then at the emperor's court, complains highly of a great injustice done to many good Printers in general, and to *Froben* particularly, which was, that he had no sooner publish'd a good edition with great cost and labour, but it was immediately reprinted by others, and sold so much cheaper, that he could never reimburse himself half his charges. This reduc'd him to the necessity of obtaining from the emperor, &c. a privilege for the sole selling them for the space of two or more years, according to the value of the work; there being no other effectual way of preventing such an abuse: the letter is dated from *Basil*, Jan. 28. 1522: the

¹ *Œcolampadius* in his epistle at the end of *Erasmus's* edition of the New Testament in *Greek* with a new *Latin* version, printed by *Froben*, ann. 1516, and dedicated to Pope *Leo X* — admirabile spectaculum mihi erat, imo spectandum miraculum, distantem recognoscentemque quantum tria præla exciperent, videre, ac nihilo secius interim Græca Latinaque exem-

plaria, eaque varia & vetustissima, consulentem, Græcos Latinosque interpretes conferentem præcos ac recētiore primæ simul ac infimæ classis scriptores perpendentem — nimirum *Erasmicum* imitati exemplum, qui & ipse hic, cæteris rebus omisiss bonam temporis partem in hoc collocavit negotium.

reader will find it in *Vita Erasmi*, Leyden edit. 1642 in 16^o, pag. 226, what relates to our subject, he will find in the margin ¹.

WE have had occasion to mention some cheats of even a worse nature with respect to the *Venetian* editions, which were counterfeited with the Printer's mark, and sold for the right ones, tho' incorrect and imperfect to the last degree.

To return to *Froben*; he is reported to have hang'd his proofs in publick sight, with a promise of a reward for every error, that should be discover'd in them by any person. In his short preface to *Celii Rhodigini* printed ann. 1517, he inveighs loudly against those pests of learning, those Printers, who regarded not the correction of their works, but had gain only in their view; and advises the learned against buying such bad books, for the sake of their cheapness, assuring them that they purchas'd nothing but plague and vexation, and that such wretched works could not but be dearly bought, how cheap soever they were sold; whereas he that bought a correct copy, always bought it cheap, how much soever he gave for it ².

JO. FROBEN printed few volumes before the year 1500, and the number of those which are extant, is still smaller. One of them was his concordance of the bible in fol. ann.. 1495; concerning which we meet with some particulars, not unworthy the reader's knowledge, tho' a digression from our subject.

FIRST it was so exactly printed, that there was not one error in all the numerical figures, which in a work of that nature are at least one third part of the matter; and is therefore very surprizing. *Froben* added a second part to it, which contain'd all the indeclinable particles, that are to be met with in the bible. This work was begun at *Constantinople* by *Jo. de Ragusa*, a Parisian divine of the Dominican order, ambassador

¹ Plerique insidiantur Homini, propemodum conjurati ut illum perdant. Ubi quid novi operis prodit, quod putent fore vendibile, mox unus atque alter suffuratus ex ipsius officina exemplar, excudit ac venditat minimo; interim *Frobenius* immensam pecuniam impendit in castigatores, frequenter & in exemplaria, huic iniquitati facile succurretur, si fiat imperatorum edictum, ne quis librum primum a *Frobenio*

nio excusum, aut cui sit aliquid ab auctore additum, excudat intra biennium. Tempus longum non est officina *Frobeniana* vel ob hoc favore digna est quod nihil ex ea prodit ineptum aut seditiosum.

² — Parvo emit, quisquis librum emendatum etiam magno emit; magno emit, quisquis codicem mendosum etiam minimo emit. *Idem.*

from the council of *Baden* to the emperor *Jo. Paleologus* about the year 1436; yet he did little to it himself, but left it to his three chaplains, one of whom was a *Scotchman* nam'd *Walter Sonaw*, who finish'd it in almost three years. After this it was reduc'd into an alphabetical order, by the directions of that council, by *John de Segovia* or *Secubia*, archdeacon of *Cujedo*, and doctor of divinity. What gave birth to this second part of the concordance was no less remarkable, *John de Ragusa* beforemention'd, coming to *Constantinople*, found the divines there engag'd in a very warm dispute concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, *i. e.* whether from the Son as well as from the Father; and that the controversy seem'd chiefly to be about the particles *ex* and *per*, *i. e.* whether it should be *ex filio* or *per filium*. He was likewise inform'd, that the *Sultan* and all the *Mahometans* having heard, that *Paleologus* design'd a journey into christendom, in order to reconcile this difference between the *Greek* and *Latin* churches, had rally'd the christians with no small scorn, whom two such seemingly insignificant particles had divided to such a degree. This embassador fail'd not to acquaint the council with it, who immediately order'd *John de Segovia* to be ready to answer all the difficulties, which the *Greeks* should propose at their arrival at *Basil*. In the mean time the *Hussites* and *John Huss* of *Bobemia*, who were already at *Basil*, and insisted upon a communion in both kinds from the words of our Saviour, *Unless you eat, &c.* and *unless you drink, &c.* which their opposers said signify'd no more than, unless you eat or drink, from which they concluded that either the one or the other was sufficient to fulfill the command; these I say made it still more necessary to have a concordance, that should explain the meaning of those particles *ex* and *per*, *nisi* and *et*, and in how many different senses they were us'd in scripture. This induc'd *John de Segovia* to write the second part of the concordance relating to indeclinable words, with a prolegomenon or preface, in which he hath given us this account of the occasion of it. The learned *Sebastian Brant*, author of the *Navis stultifera*, caus'd it to be printed by *Froben*, ann. 1495, and somewhat above twenty years after the same, *Froben* reprinted it with an elegant *Latin* dialogue between a bookseller and the buyer, relating to the value of good books, instead of a preface to that edition. The reader may see it at length in *Chevillier*, p. 130.

FROBEN

FROBEN had two sons *Jerom* and *John*, who succeeded their father, and publish'd a great number of volumes with good reputation after his death, which happen'd ann. 1527. *Erasmus* tells us that what he had most at heart was to give the world a correct edition of *St. Austin's* works, and that he desir'd to live no longer than to see it finish'd¹. However he was depriv'd of that pleasure, for *J. And-Endters* tells us tho' he kept seven presses continually at work upon that edition, yet not above two volumes of it were printed before he died, to the great loss and grief of all the learned world: the following epitaph, written by his friend *Erasmus*, was afterwards set upon his tomb.

Epitaphium JOANNIS FROBENII.
per Desiderium Erasmus Rot.

*Arida Joannis tegit hic lapis ossa Frobeni,
Orbe vivet toto nescia fama mori.
Moribus hanc niveis meruit studiisque juvandis;
Quæ nunc mæsta jacent orba parente suo.
Reitulit, ornavit veterum monumenta sophorum
Arte, manu, curis, aere, favore, fide.
Huic vitam in cælis date, numina justa, perennem;
Per nos in terris fama perennis erit.*

THIS epitaph was afterwards printed, according to *la Caille*, in *Henry Stephen's Artis Typographicæ Querimonia*; *Erasmus* wrote another of four verses in *Greek*, which the Reader may see in *Matt. Annal. Typog.* v. 2. p. 36.

ERASMUS was not contented with writing the abovemention'd epitaphs in his late friend's praise, but he made likewise a kind of funeral oration or rather eulogium upon him, in a letter to *John Emsted* a learned *Caribustian*; the reader may see it at full length in the above-mention'd *Annals*, vol. 2. pag. 36, & seq

AND indeed it was no more than he ow'd him, since *Froben* had long before given him a pleasure, which few men beside him had ever tasted, which was to see his own elegy before his death; the occasion of it was

¹ Ut inter familiares ubinde dicere solitus quod absolvendo sufficeret Augustino. *Erasm.*
æt, se non optare longius vitæ spatium, quam *epist. ad Ammonium.* Tom. 3. oper. p. 759.

as follows. Before these two were become intimate, *Froben* had heard that *Erasmus* was dead, and wrote much such another funeral oration upon him, which he prefix'd to an edition of that great man's proverbs, which he publish'd *Ann.* 1513: *Erasmus* could not but be highly pleas'd to see himself prais'd in so extraordinary and sincere a manner; being well assur'd that such encomiums could not proceed from flattery or self interest; for *Erasmus* being suppos'd dead, *Froben* could have nothing to hope from him; and had any but a man of *Froben's* integrity and honour committed such a mistake, one might be apt to suspect it had been wilfully done, in hopes of procuring some valuable pieces from that learned author: but whoever is acquainted with that Printer's character, will undoubtedly believe him incapable of such mean arts. I think therefore it will not be amiss to close the history of this great Printer with some conspicuous parts of his character, which we have not yet touch'd upon, and which will easily acquit him of any suspicion; which is, that he was a man of the most disinterested and generous disposition. *Erasmus* in his letter to *Emsted* abovemention'd does even tell us, that he was so to a fault, and that he had often reprov'd him for it, but in vain, for his natural candor was proof against all admonitions of that kind: neither did his munificence to men of learning and merit show itself only in the largeness of his presents to them, but in the manner of bestowing them; never, says that author, did he seem better pleas'd than when he had, either by intreaties or by some cunning device, prevail'd upon them to accept of some favour from him. The grief he shew'd in his countenance at their denial was such, that they found it more difficult to refuse a favour from him, than to obtain one from another person; and when by chance, continues he, I have bought me some cloath for a gown, he has privately sent, and paid for it unknown to me. As his house was open to all learned men, so none had a heartier welcome than *Erasmus*, who us'd it as his home all the time he continued at *Basil*, and it is probable that he might have continued longer there, had he not observ'd something in his family, which he could not forbear grieving at. *Froben* was under petticoat-government, which made his affairs go somewhat wrong, wherefore he expresses himself thus to him in a letter dated from *Louvain*; *Fama tibi parta est, ea poterit tibi magno emolumento esse,*

The Printers of the City of Basil. 227

esse, si curam de tuo adbibueris; sed mihi non placet domi tuæ regnum istud Muliebre, &c. But Froben was of too easy and patient a temper, to give himself any trouble about it: we have a remarkable instance of this in the last year of his life, when being seiz'd with such a violent pain in his right heel, that some physicians were for cutting off his foot, he had no sooner receiv'd some easement in it, than he went on horseback to Frankfort about some business; and tho' advis'd by his friends to stir seldom abroad, to go warmer in cloaths, and to spare himself as much as possible, he refus'd to hearken to them, and took such care to conceal his bad state of health, and the anguish of his pain, that he went still about his business; 'till being seiz'd with a fainting fit, he dropt down and broke his skull against the pavement; after which he continued two days, without any sense or motion, and expir'd *ann. 1528.* I hope the name and character of the person will excuse my account of these particularities, especially since the great *Erasmus* has thought them worth recording in a much ampler manner: he left two sons *Jerom* and *John*, who became excellent Printers, and signaliz'd themselves by their editions of the *Greek* and *Latin* fathers; he had likewise some daughters, one of whom nam'd *Justina* he marry'd to *Nicolas l'Evesque* or *Episcopus*, an eminent Printer of *Basil*.

His usual mark or rebus was a dove sitting on the top of a staff, with two basilisks twin'd about it, to which he sometimes added the initial letters of both his names *IO. FRO.* and sometimes the fourth verse of the 125th psalm in *Hebrew*, the sixteenth verse of *St. Matthew's* 10th chapter in *Greek*, and these words in *Latin*, *Prudens Simplicitas Amorque recti*, in three distinct lines. All the works we have extant of his from 1491 to 1500 are only four, *viz.* a *Latin* bible, 8vo, in a small character dated 1491. Another in the old *Gothic*, 8vo, 1495; his concordance of the bible mention'd before, *fol. anno 1495*; and the *Speculum decem Præceptorum* of *Henry Harp*.

I can find but one more Printer after him, *viz.*

JOHN BERGMAN de OLPE, 1497.

Of whom we have only two editions of *Sebastian Brant's Navis stultifera*, dated 1497 and 1498. the last of which is adorn'd with wooden cuts:

G g 2

BESIDES

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BESIDES these F. Orlandi has given us a list of above 60 *Basil* editions without Printers names.

Article II. The Cities of Essling, Placentia and Pignerol.

THESE three cities being inconsiderable with respect to their Productions in the Art of Printing, except the earliness of their receiving it, I have joyn'd them into one short article.

§. *ESLING* is a small city in the duchy of *Wirtemberg* in *Germany*. It receiv'd Printing either about or before the year 1475; tho' we can meet but with the two following editions printed there by

CONRARD FYNER, 1475. *viz.*

1. PETRI Nigri Germani ord. præd. qui claruit anno 1475, } 1475.
tractatus de Judæorum perfidia, per Conradum Fyner Esslingæ
2. EJUSDEM tractatus de conditionibus veri Messiae contra Ju- } 1477.
dæos, Germanicè, by the same, ibid. Orl.

§. *PLACENTIA* a noble antient city upon the river *Po* in *Italy*, in which we find only one edition printed by

JO. PETER de Ferratis of *Cremona*, 1475. *viz.*

BIBLIA Latina, 4to, per Jo. Petri de Ferratis Cremonensem *Placentiæ*, 1475.

§. *PIGNEROL* [in *Latin Pignarolium*] is a well fortify'd city in *Piedmont*, at the foot of the *Alps*, under the dominion of the present king of *Sardinia*. Here the famous *French* Printer

JAMES des ROUGES or de RUBERS,

Set up his Press, after he had printed at *Venice* from 1473 to 1477 with vast applause. The first book, which we find printed by him, is a *Latin* bible dated 1475; in which all our annalists have follow'd father *le Long*: but it is doubtful whether he was not mistaken in the year, seeing

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seeing *des Rouges* was still printing at *Venice*, anno 1477, and that we find no more impressions of his done at *Pignerol*, 'till anno 1479.

HOWEVER as it is not easy to determine whether father *le Long* was in an error, or the bible antedated, or whether this Printer kept two Presses at the same time, one at *Venice*, and another at *Pignerol*; I have follow'd the order of the annalists, and ventur'd to place this edition and city under that year.

WE have but four editions of his printed at *Pignerol*, that of the bible of 1475 included, two of which are dated 1479, and the last 1480.

Article III. The City of VINCENTIA, 1475.

VINCENTIA is a large ancient city and university in *Italy*, now under the republick of *Venice*, which receiv'd the Art of Printing anno 1475, and oblig'd the world with a greater number of editions than many cities of *Italy*, and other parts of *Europe*, which we have seen hitherto.

I. HERMAN LEVILAPIS or LICHTENSTEIN, 1475.

WAS one of the first that brought it hither. He was a native of *Cölogne*, and a very good, but unsettled Printer. We have already seen him at *Venice* and *Treviso*. At *Vincentia* he printed some editions in partnership with *Nicholas Petri* of *Harlem*, alias *Peter de Harlem*.

WE have twelve of them extant, in some of which he calls himself *Herman Levilapis*, in others *de Levilapide* or *Lichtenstein*, in others *Herman Lichtenstein de Colonia*; one remarkable edition of his, viz.

PAULI Orosii Hispani *historiarum libri vii ad Aurelium Augustinum de maximis calamitatibus ab orbe condito usque ad sua tempora*, fol. is without date, Printers or place's name.

THIS edition was corrected by *Æneas Vulpes*, and printed at *Vincentia* by *Herman Lichtenstein*, as appears by the epigram quoted in the margin:

Ut ipse titulus margine in primo docet,
Orosio nomen mihi est.
Librarium quicquid erroris fuit,
Exemit Æneas mihi:
Meque imprimendum tradidit non alteri,
Hermanne, quam soli tibi;
Hermanne, nomen hujus artis & decus,

Tuxque laus Colonia
Quod si situm orbis, sicque ad nostra tem-
pora
Ab orbis ipsa origine;
Quisque tumultus, bellaque & cædes velit,
Cladesque nosse: me legat.

after

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after which it was reprinted in the same place, but in a larger character, by *Leonard de Basilea* with the same verses, except changing the word *Herman* for that of *Leonard*, and *Colonia* for *Basilea*. It was reprinted likewise in several other places, only the 5, 6, 7 and 8th verses were omitted.

2. JOHN RHENISH or *Jobn de Reno*, five editions from 1475 to 1481.
3. JOHN *de Vienna*, 1 edit. 1476.
4. STEPHEN KOBLINGER, 1 edit. 1479.
5. HENRY, bookseller of *Vincentia*, 3 edit. from 1480 to 1486.
6. LEONARD *de Basilea* or of *Bafil*, Printer to the university of *Vincentia*, 5 edit. from 1482 to 1491.
7. JAMES DUSENSIS, 1 edit. 1482.
8. HENRY *de S. Urso*, 5 edit. from 1486 to 1499.
9. SIMON BEVILAQUA [*Drink water*] citizen of *Pavia*, 2 edit. both 1489.

HE went afterwards to *Venice*, where he printed a much greater number of editions, from 1492 to 1500, as has been said under that head.

HERE are likewise a small number without Printer's names.

Article IV. The Cities of LUBECK and VALENTIA.

§. THE city of *Lubeck* is one of the Hans-towns in *Germany*, between the provinces of *Saxony* and *Alsatia* upon the *Baltick* sea. It is very eminent for its trade, port, fortifications, riches, and number of inhabitants.

HITHER the Art of Printing was brought *anno* 1475, yet appears to have met with but little encouragement from its trading inhabitants, for we find only four Printers in this city from 1471 to 1502, and they were so far from settling here any time, that their bad success had oblig'd them to quit the place, for we have but five editions extant of them all; their names are as follows.

1. LUCAS BRANDIS *de Schafz*, 2 edit. from 1475 to 1477.
2. STEPHEN ARNOLD, 1 edit. 1484.
3. STEPHEN ARNDES, 1 edit. 1493.
4. BARTHOL. GOTHAN, 1 edit. 1494.

I SHALL

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I SHALL only add that the first work of *Lucas Brandis*, viz. *Epitoma Histeriarum* has the pompous *Latin* inscription, which you will find in the margin¹, and which has led some authors into an absurd notion that the Art of Printing was found out at *Lubeck*.

§. VALENTIA, 1475.

THERE are so many cities and towns of this name in *France*, *Italy* and *Spain*, that it cannot possibly be determin'd in which of them the two following books, which are all that we find under that name, have been printed; there being nothing in the titles or any other part to ascertain it, and even the Printer's names are wanting.

1. SALUSTIUS, 4to. *Valentiæ*, 1475.

2. XIMENIUS (Franciscus) *de vita Christiana in vi partes distincta*, ibid, 1484.

Article V. ROSTOCH and BRUGES, 1475; and DELPH, 1477.

§. ROSTOCH is an imperial free city in *Germany*, upon the *Baltick* sea. Here was founded an university about the year 1490, fourteen years before which, we meet with the following book, the only one as yet known, printed there by some regular priests, as the colophon informs us.

LACTANTII FIRMIANI *de divinis institutionibus*, fol. per fratres presbyteros & clericos congregationis Domus viridis horti ad sanctum Michaellem in oppido Rostochienfi partium inferioris Selaviæ, prout facultas & industria tulit, emendate satis & accurate consummat. millesimo quadringentesimo septuagesimo sexto, quinto Idus Aprilis: Rostochii, 1476.

§. BRUGES in *Flanders* had a Printer settled there anno 1476, nam'd

¹ ——— Imperiali in urbe Lubecana, arte impressoria, speciali gratia divina, animarum ob salutem fidelium inventa, epitoma istud in partes vi. juxta mundi ætates divisum, prius alibi non repertum, quod placuit Rudimentum Novitiorum intitulari, dei adjutorio, qui

supernas res ac subterraneas feliciter, suaviter, tranquilleque dispensat, per magistrum Lucam Brandis de Schafz feliciter est excusum atque finitum; ut pauperes solvere libros non valentes, unum tantum haberent hoc enchiridium loco multorum semper ad manum librorum.

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I. COLARD MANSION,

OF whom we have three editions from 1476 to 1486.

ORLANDI gives us another Printer of this city, viz. *John de Rey*, who printed *Centon Epistolas dell' Bachiller*, 4to, 1499. Mr *Maittaire* and *la Caille* date this edition from *Burgos in Spain*, and they seem to be in the right, because the book is written in *Spanish*, and the Printer's name shews him to be of that nation.

§. DELPH is a fine city in *Holland*, near the *Hague* and *Rotterdam*. We meet with seven editions printed there, all without any Printer's name; the first of which, viz. the *Dutch bible* is dated anno 1477. The rest are dated as follows; two 1480, two 1487, one 1491, the last 1497.

C H A P. XI.

The Cities of 1. *Spire*, 2. *Lyons*, anno 1477. 3. *Geneva*, *Brussels*, *Coscence* and *Pavia*, anno 1478. 4. *Goude*, *Zivol*, anno 1479; and *Caen*, *Ceulen*, *Cenzano* and *Quilemburgh*, anno 1480. 5. *Lignitz*, *Huffelet*, *Regio Mont-royal* and *Wartzburgh*, anno 1481. 6. *Pisa*, *Aquila*, *Erford* and *Langres*, anno 1482: And 7. *Gaunt* and *Memining*, anno 1483.

Article I. The City of SPIRE, 1477.

SPIRE is an ancient city in higher *Germany*, situate upon the *Rhine*, between *Mentz* and *Strasburgh*. It is now call'd in *Latin Spira*, but formerly was call'd *Novimagium* and *Nemetes*.

THO' this city doth not seem to have cultivated the Art of Printing within her walls, so much as other cities of *Germany*, yet it ought to be remembred for having given birth to some eminent Printers, who went
and

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and settled in other parts of *Europe*, and in particular the two famous brothers, who first set up their presses at *Venice*, viz. *John* and *Windelin* of *Spire*, of whom we have given an account in the third chapter of this second part. Here we find the first beginnings of the Art about the year 1477, when

I. PETER DRACH of SPIRE.

PRINTED the *Summa of Archiep. Antoninus*, which is the first book we know of printed by him; as he is likewise the only Printer, who put his name to any impressions done in this city. His editions are but four in number, from 1477 to 1487; besides which we find about ten more printed here without the names of the Printers.

It will not be improper to observe here, that our latest annalists place the city of *Westminster* under this year; the oldest edition as yet discover'd by them being *Socrates's Sayings* printed by *Caxton*, anno 1477; however the reader will find by the third book of this history, that there is a more ancient one by three years, viz. *The Game of Chess*, which is dated anno 1474, now in the possession of my worthy friend the curious Mr *Granger* of the *East-India House*: and it is plain from the account of the Art's being brought into *England*, that they began to print in the abbey of *Westminster* much sooner than that year.

Article II. The City of LYONS.

LYONS, a rich and populous city in *France*, upon the rivers *Rhone* and *Arare*, is call'd in *Latin*, *Lugdunum*, and is allow'd to be one of the most ancient cities in *Europe*; so that some *French* writers have not scrupled to fix the date of its foundation within 600 or 700 years after the flood, which may more easily be believ'd than disprov'd. It has been always eminent for men of learning in all arts and sciences, which were particularly cultivated there, but more especially after the Art of Printing was introduc'd; which receiv'd such encouragement there, that it has continu'd in a flourishing condition ever since. Some annalists have asserted that it is the first city in *France* which set up a Printing-press; but if we would judge of this controversy by the dates of the oldest im-

H h

pressions,

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pressions, we shall find that the city of *Tours*, and next that of *Paris* had the Art several years before, as hath been already shewn. However, if *Lyons* hath not the preference of *Rome*, *Paris*, *Venice*, &c. either for the antiquity or beauty of its productions; it must be acknowledg'd that it hath gain'd it by the quantity of large impressions, than which no city in *Europe* has furnish'd the learned with a greater number. It is still a great *emporium* or market for books in all languages and sciences; and as it hath encourag'd some of the best artists to settle there, and publish beautiful and correct editions, so it has induc'd many a wretched one to chuse it as a proper place to print and vend a much greater quantity of bad and counterfeit ones; but this hath happen'd in most famous cities of *Europe*. *Lyons* hath likewise been celebrated, if not for introducing, at least for encouraging, the *Gothick* character, and publish'd more volumes of that sort, in proportion to those that were done in fine Roman, than any other city; and what is more remarkable of the Printers of this city, they were vastly more fond of that inelegant character than of the Roman, especially for bibles, divinity, law and physick books.

THE reader will be justly surpriz'd to hear what encomiums they gave it, and how proud they were of their performances in that kind. I have subjoin'd in the margin three or four scraps of their colophons, to shew what a piece of merit the Printers of the 15th and above half of the 16th century made of their works printed in this character, not only at *Lyons*, but likewise at *Venice*, *Paris*, *Rome*, &c. ¹ *John de Cologne* at *Venice* us'd to phrase it thus, *Done in sublimely fine characters*, &c. another ² values himself upon the beauty and excellence of his character; a third ³ calls it the most elegant character; and a fourth ⁴ the most polite of all characters: so that if a person did not see what Types they meant, he would be apt to judge it any other than the *Gothick*. The famous *Badius*, surnam'd *Ascensius*, who had printed in this city of *Lyons* from 1495 to 1500, is reported to have gone afterwards to *Paris*, with a design to stop, as

¹ Sublimi literarum effigie, &c.

² Characterē jucundissimo M. Joan: Her-
bert Alemani, cujus vis et ingenium facile su-
pereminet omnes.

³ Opus pulchro literarum characterē poli-

tissimum, &c.

⁴ Certante minio purpuræ rubedine,
Superante cervas nigredine sepiâ —
politioribus characterum typis, &c.

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much as possible, the current vogue of this old Gothick; but in vain, for he was oblig'd to continue it himself till almost the very later end of his days; and besides it still remain'd in great use long after that, insomuch that *Atensis* complains ^{*} that Printers were extremely curious, and spar'd no cost to give elegant impressions of the heathen poets, orators, &c. whereas any batter'd old Gothick Types were thought good enough for those of Divinity. In the close of this second book we shall mention some of the Printers, to whom the world is oblig'd for the total disuse of that inelegant character. To return to *Lyons*; the first Printer we find there, is,

I. BARTHOLOMEW BUYER, 1477.

Of whom we have only the two following impressions: the first, viz. the new Testament in French is without date, and has been suppos'd by *de la Caille*, to have been printed about 1500. but *F. Le Long* more justly supposes it, both by the rudeness of the character, and its likeness to that of the next edition of *Buyer*, which is dated 1477 to have been printed about this time.

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|--|---|-------------------------------|
| 2. MARTIN HUSZ and | } | two edit. from 1478, to 1485. |
| 3. JOS. FABER | | |
| 4. PERRINE LATHOMI, 1 edit. 1479. | | |
| He printed likewise at <i>Venice</i> with some others, about 1494. | | |
| 5. WILLIAM le ROY, 2 edit. from 1483, to 1488. | | |
| 6. JANON CARCAIGNI, 2 edit. from 1488, to 1495. | | |
| 7. MICHELET TOPIE de <i>Piemont</i> and | } | 2 edit. from 1488. to 1490. |
| 8. JAMES HEREMBERCLE, alias HEREMBERCH, <i>German</i> , | | |
| 9. JOHN CLEIN, <i>German</i> , 1 edit. 1489. | | |
| 10. MATTHIAS HUSM, <i>German</i> , 1 edit. 1489. | | |
| 11. JOHN DU PRE, 2 edit. from 1489, to 1493. | | |
| He printed likewise at <i>Paris</i> and <i>Abbeville</i> . | | |
| 12. PETER MARESHAL, 1 edit. 1490. | | |
| 13. JOHN DE LA FONTAINE of <i>Lyons</i> , 1 edit. 1490. | | |
| 14. JOHN TRECHSEL <i>German</i> , 8 edit. from 1490 to 1497. | | |

^{*} Lynceis utuntur oculis & Herculeo labore, vis typos quamvis tritos & confusaneos adhibent.
 si quando ethnicorum aliquis aut nugax poeta, Præfat. ad Gregor.
 aut verbosus orator est imprimendus; sacris quof-

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Whose corrector was the famous *Jodocus Badius*, of whom we shall speak hereafter; some of whose learned works, comments and annotations he printed *anno 1492 & seq.* as *Silvæ Morales, cum interpretatione Badii ex Virgil. Horat. Pers. Juvenal. Ennio, Bapt. Mantuan. Sulpit. Caton.* with some others which we shall speak of anon. I must not omit mentioning, that all *Trechsel's* works are highly valuable and correct.

15. ENGOLHARD SCHULTIS, *German*, 1 edit. 1491.

16. MATTHIAS HUTS, 1 edit. 1491.

17. ANT. LABILLON and } 2 edit. both 1491.

18. MARTIN SARACENI, }

19. JODOCUS BADIUS, *firm'd* ASCENSIUS, 1495.

Badius was born in the castle of *Ase*, in the territories of *Brussels*, and call'd *Ascensius* from it. He spent his younger years in study at *Brussels*, *Gaunt*, and last of all in the university of *Ferrara*, under the great *Bapt. Guarini*, where he became master of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and very famous for his learning and parts. He remov'd afterwards to the city of *Lyons*, where he publicly taught those two languages, and became corrector to *Jo. Trechsel's* press, as has been said before. He publish'd several works, some of which were his own, as *Silvæ morales contra vitia* fol. 1492. *Epigrammatum lib. 1. Navicula Stultarum mulierum*; the Life of *Thomas a Kempis* prefix'd to his works, and some others. Several excellent commentaries were likewise written by him upon the greatest part of the classicks, and other *Latin* authors, as *Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Lucretius, Seneca, Salust, Valerius Maximus, Quintilian, Aulus Gellius*, and others; all which he printed himself in folio very elegantly and correctly, tho' some of the first he caus'd to be printed by *John Trechsel*, whose daughter he afterwards married and had many children by her. To all his editions, which were not a few, he us'd to prefix an epistle dedicatory, address'd to some person, eminent either for his quality, piety or learning. Among others, he dedicated the first Volume of *Tho. Waldensis* works to pope *Clement VII.* After he had taken the business of printing upon him; he became so excellent a Printer, that the learned *Rob. Gaguin*, general of the *Trinitarian Order*, who

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who was perfectly well acquainted with his merit, wrote a letter to him, to desire him to undertake the printing of his works. This with some other invitations of the learned, brought *Badius* to *Paris* about 1499, presently after his father-in-law's death, where he design'd to teach the *Greek* tongue, and where his last endeavour, after he had furnish'd himself with fine sets of Roman characters, was to explode the old Gothick both in his works, and by his example, as we hinted before. And accordingly printed the *Philobiblion* of that great encourager of learning, *Richard Bury*, lord high chancellor of *England*, bishop of *Durham*, and founder of the *Oxford* library, towards the middle of the 14th century; which book was sent to him by Dr. *Bureau*, bishop of *Cisteron*, and confessor to the *French* king, in order to be printed by him. This was the first book known that came to the press after he set it up at *Paris*; 'tis dated 1500; the next year he printed the *Provinciale, seu constitutiones Angliæ, cum Annotationibus Gulielmi Lindewode* 1501, in 2 vol. fol. in a beautiful round Roman. This book, as *de la Caille* tells us, is very scarce, and much sought for, being very necessary for those who would understand the old *French* us'd in *William* the conqueror's time, tho' I doubt he is mistaken, the work itself being in *Latin*. He began to print by himself about the year 1495, at which time the great *Aldus Manutius* began at *Venice*; than whom neither that age nor the next produc'd two more learned or excellent Printers.

As this later was chiefly engag'd in printing and correcting of *Greek* authors, so *Badius* was employ'd in the *Latin* ones; and there seem'd a kind of friendly emulation between them, each carrying away the palm in a separate province. Upon account of this merit the editor of *Guil. de Rubione* in his dedication to the earl of *Castille* calls *Ascensius* a person skill'd in all kinds of science, and the prince of printers¹; and *Trithemius* ranks him among the *Scriptores Ecclesiastici*, when he was but two and thirty years of age, and gives him the following panegyrick, viz. that he was a perfect master of literature, not unskilful in the holy scriptures, a good philosopher, orator and poet, a man of a bright genius and a fluent tongue,² &c. *Erasmus* likewise gives him a great enco-

¹ Omnigenere disciplinarum eruditissimo *Ascensio*, impressoriæ artis primati.

² Vir in secularibus literis eruditissimus, &

divinarum scripturarum non ignarus, philosophus, rhetor, & poeta clarissimus, ingenio excellens & disertus eloquio.

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mium in his dialogue intitl'd *Ciceronianus*; prefers his stile to that of *Apuleius*, and highly applauds his admirable facility of writing. I shall give the *Latin* reader a specimen of his poetry in the margin, which is a tetraſtich inſcrib'd to the learned *Fath. Mark Benevent*, to whom the edition of *Holkoth* upon the ſentences, printed by *J. Treſchel* anno 1497, is dedicated, and of which himſelf was the corrector; in which verſes he deſires him in a moſt elegant manner to excuſe the faults ſtill remaining in it ¹. He was no leſs ſkillful in reſtoring of corrupt manuſcripts, than careful in printing of them with the greateſt accuracy; ſo that ſome of his *Errata's* have contain'd but five words. In printing the work of any living author, he always follow'd the copy exactly; and he tells us in his preface to his edition of *Angelus Politianus* ², that he endeavour'd to imitate the laudable diligence of *Aldus Manutius*, and to print from his copies with the utmoſt exactneſs. This made not only the learned very ambitious to have their works printed by him, but the moſt eminent bookſellers of *Paris* were glad, in order to have him for their Printer, to aſſociate themſelves with him; among whom, *John Petit* ſworn bookſeller to that univerſity, and one of the moſt famous of that age, cauſ'd ſeveral noble editions to be printed by him as the *Calepini Diſtionarium octo Linguar.* 1516. *Origen. Opera Latinè* 4 vol. fol. 1519, ſome of which beautifully printed on vellum, are ſtill to be ſeen in ſeveral libraries of that city, with many others: He had other aſſociates beſides *Petit*, viz. *Andreas Bochart*, *Dionys Roce*, *Geofrey Marneſſ*, and many others, all eminent men in their way. Thus he continued printing and writing with great applauſe and reputation till the year 1534, in which he died. Some authors indeed have affirm'd that he died anno 1526, becauſe they knew of no works printed by him after that year. *Chevillier* gives us two particulars, which fix the year of his death beyond diſpute. The firſt is the laſt book printed in his name, viz. *Alphonſus a Caſtro contra Hæreſes.* fol. 1534. and *Peter Lombard in Epistoas Pauli.* fol. ann. 1535. *pro hæredibus Jodoci Badii, menſe decembri*, both which editi-

¹ Jam portum optatum per inhospita faxa
secuti
Prendimus, ex alto proſpiciente deo.
Siqua tamen laceræ portent inculta carinæ,
Humanè ignoſces, Marce diſerte, Vale.

² Curavimus — ut quam minimum ejus
ſcripta quaſi degenerent ab origine, imitantes
ſanè non tacendi, imo ſemper laudandi, ho-
minis Aldi M. R. diligentiam.

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ons he saw in the *Sorbon* library. He us'd to put the following *Latin* verse to the first page of his impressions ;

Ære meret Badius laude auctorem, arte legentem.

Sometimes this,

Æra meret Badio tersa atque impressa per ipsum.

Or thus,

Æra meret Badio, nomenque decusque parenti.

Some Impressions have only. *Æra meret Badio.*

His mark was the draught of a printing-house with the words *Prælum Ascensianum* upon the head of the press, the glory and credit of which dy'd not with him, but continued above 35 years in his own family ; for *Badius*, whose love to learning, and in particular to the Art of Printing, was conspicuous thro' his whole life, prevail'd upon himself to breed up his only son *Conrard Badius* to the business of Printing, after he had perfected him in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and in several other branches of literature. *Conrard* became so famous upon all these accounts, that the learned *Henry Stephens* has thought fit to transmit to us an elegant *Latin* epitaph made upon him, which the reader may see in *de la Caille* p. 131. *Badius* had likewise a brother nam'd *John*, who became an eminent printer, and left a considerable number of good editions behind him ; and as if this had not been enough to have three out of his family brought up to the Art of Printing, he marry'd his three daughters to three of the most eminent printers in *Paris*, *Robert Stephens*, *Michael Vascosan*, and *John de Roigny*. The two former of these are too celebrated to need a panegyrick here ; and the last took his father-in-law's mark, succeeded him in his printing-house with great reputation, and signaliz'd himself by the elegance and correctness of a great number of editions, which came from his presses ; he left a son nam'd *Michael*, who did not prove much inferior to his father or grandfather.

We find two epitaphs on this great man, the one in *Henry Stéphen's* book, *De artis typographicae querimoniâ*, anno 1569 ; which is as follows ;

Jodoci

Jodoci Badii Epitaphium.

*Hic liberorum plurimorum qui parens,
Parens librorum plurimorum qui fuit,
Situs Jodocus Badius est Ascensius.
Plures fuerunt liberis tamen libri,
Quod jam senescens cepit illos gignere,
Ætate florens cepit hos quod edere.*

His other epitaph is to be seen upon his tomb in *St. Bennet's church* at *Paris*, where he lies buried. It is as follows;

On this side is the picture of *Badius*. D. O. M. B. Q. V. M. S. And on this side his wife, *Trechsel*.

*Viator, artes qui bonas piasque amas,
Siste hic. Quiescunt subter illustres viri
Qui litteris junxere virtutem arduam.
Jacet Jodocus hic Badius Ascensius,
Candore notus scriptor & scientiâ.
Gener Jodoci Vascofanus prope situs est,
Doctissimorum tot parens voluminum,
Socer Morelli, regis olim interpretis;
Musarum alumni quæ gemunt hic conditum,
Fædusque Federici ademptum sibi dolent.
Tres cyppus unus hic tegit cum uxoribus
Leetissimis et liberorum liberis.
Hos Christus olim dormientes suscitet,
Ad concinendum Trinitati almæ melos.*

I. X. Θ. Y. C.

FEDERICUS Morellus Paris. professor & interpret regius Federici Morelli nobilis, genere Campani, regii quoque interpretis; Michael Vascofani scutiferi Ambiani nepos, Jodoci Badii illustris Belgæ pronepos, marmoreum hunc epitaphium patris, avi, proavi piæ memoriæ, ære suo posuit; ejusdem, cum Deus vocans volet, tumuli compos fieri optans, *in* *œ* *π* *ι* *ς* anno salutis 1603.

Qui

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*Qui idem Morellus unus erat è Duumviris togatis hujus aedis sacræ
D. Benedicti παροικίας γαζοφυλακείῳ præfectus.*

BADIUS liv'd at the sign of the three wolves in *St. James's street*, and his house was so much frequented by learned men of all nations, who for conversation's sake, were forc'd to use the *Latin* tongue, that his daughters had obtain'd such knowledge of it, that no conversation pass'd in that language but they understood it; the same has been affirm'd of some of his domesticks. He was one of the sworn Printers of the university of *Paris*, as appears by the inscriptions to his epistles didicatory (¹), as well as by the order which he receiv'd from the rector of it (by virtue of his oath of obedience and fidelity to it) to print the censure made by that body against *Luther's* doctrines.

BEFORE I conclude this article of that noble Printer, it will be necessary to give the reader a caution, which he gives us in the title of his *Calepin* corrected, augmented, and printed by him in 1516, that some vile Printers had put his name to several editions never publish'd by him; for which reason he desires the reader to see that his mark be to them, least they be deceiv'd by those impostors. It seems these plagiaries were more modest than some *Italians* and others, who scrupled not to counterfeit both the name and mark of his contemporary *Aldus*.

THO' we have but one impressiion of his extant done at *Lyons*, which city he left about the close of the century, to which we have confin'd the lists of impressiions; yet I hope the reader will excuse our transgressing those limits in the account of his life and excellent character, as we have done in that of other eminent Printers, who have out-liv'd that epocha any considerable time. The edition spoken of is as follows;

GULIELMI OCKAM opera, fol. per Jodoc. Badium Ascensium Lugdun. 1495.

As *Badius* is the last considerable Printer that made his entrance into the province of printing within this century, and of all the other cities and places which have receiv'd that art before the close of it, a small number excepted; we shall abridge the remainder of this history, and content our selves with giving our readers only their names, and

¹ Ex officinâ nostrâ literariâ in Academiâ rum Gymnasio:
parisiensi, &c. Ex Aedibus nostris in Parisiorum Academiâ,
Accuratione Ascensii in nobilissimo Parisio- &c.

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number of their works, that we may have the more room to open the scene of the last promis'd twenty years, viz. from 1500 to 1520, in the two last chapters of this II. Book.

THE rest of the Printers of the city of *Lyons* are as follow ;

20. JOHN *de Wingle* of *Picardy*, 5 edit. from 1496 to 1499.
21. CLAUDIUS GIBOLET, 1 edit. 1498.
22. NICHOLAS WOLF, 2 edit. from 1498, to 1499.
23. JOHN DYAMANTIER, 1 edit. 1500.
24. JOHN BACHELIER, 1 edit. 1500.
25. GASPARD ORT, and } 1 edit. 1500.
26. PETER SCHENCK, }
27. CLAUDIUS *de Hufchia*, a *Latin* bible with cuts without date, with above twenty more without Printers names.

Article III. *The Cities of GENEVA, BRUSSELS, COSCENCE and PAVIA, 1478.*

I SHALL not trouble the reader with a needless description of those cities, their productions in the Art of Printing being so inconsiderable, as barely to deserve a place here, especially the three first.

§. 1. GENEVA produc'd four editions, from 1478 to 1498, without printers names.

§. 2. BRUSSELS, two edit. from 1478, to 1480, without printers names.

§. 3. COSCENZA, two editions, the first by *Octavian Salamonio de Manfredonia*, 1478, the other without the printer's name, of the same date as the former.

§. 4. PAVIA, in *Latin Papia*, a noble city and university of *Lombardy*, receiv'd the Art of Printing about the same time with the three foregoing, according to the date of her first known edition, and her productions were somewhat more considerable than theirs. Her first Printer was,

FRANCIS *de S. Petro*, of whom we have but one edition, dated 1478.

2. ANTONY *de Carcano*, 3 edit. 2 dated 1478, the last 1494.

3. ANDREAS BONETI, 1 edit. 1486.

4. CHRISTOPHER *de Canibus*, 1 edit. 1488.

5. JOHN

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5. JOHN ANTONY BIRRETTI } 3 edit. all 1489.
6. FRANCIS de Gyrardengo }
7. GABRIEL de Craffi, 1 edit. 1490.
8. BERNARD } de Rovelli, brothers, 1 edit. 1493.
9. AMBROSE }
10. LEONARD GEROTA, 1 edit. 1497.
WITH about 10 more without Printers names.

Article IV. GOUDE and ZWOL, 1479. CAEN, CEULEN, CENZANO and QUILEMBOURG, 1480.

§. 1. GOUDE in *Holland*, between *Hague* and *Utrecht*, where *Gerard de Leen*, or *de Lene*, printed from anno 1479 to 1480, after which he remov'd to *Antwerp*, and printed there till 1491, as shall be shewn in its place. We have but six editions of his printed at *Goude*, the first is a dutch bible, fol. 1479, the last is dated 1484.

§. 2. ZWOL, a City in *Lower Germany*, between the rivers *Ifel* and *Vider*. We find 5 editions printed here from 1479 to 1499, all without printers names.

§. 3. CAEN, in *Latin Cadomum*, an episcopal city and university, and the capital of *Normandy*, had two sworn booksellers, viz. *Peter Regnault*, and *Richard Mace*; but whether many Printers, or whether they had their books from some other place, we find but two editions printed here, viz. *Horatii Epistolæ*, 1480, and *Alberti Magni Compend. Theologic. Veritatis*. 1500.

§. 4. CEULEN. Our annalists are at a loss where to find this place, I imagine it to be the city of *Cologne*, which the Printer might not know how to spell right, neither do the Germans write it much unlike it. We find but one impreffion in *Low Dutch*, it is call'd *Spiegel der Sassen met de Glossen daarop*, fol. 1480.

§. 5. QUILEMBOURG, in *Holland*, where the same *Dutch* edition was printed in the same year, and no other as I can find.

§. 6. GENZANO, *Corn. Beughen* in his *Incunab. Typogr.* mentions an edition of *Joannes Annius de futuris triumphis contra Saracenos*, fol. and dates it from *Gentia*, 1480; *de la Caille* mentions the same edition of the same year, and dates it from *Genzano*. Father *Orlandi* is not sure that *Gentia* and *Genzano* are the same place, but if it is, he tells us, that it

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is a place in the *Roman* territories, more famous for an excellent wine in great request at *Rome*, than for this obscure edition which is the only one we have printed there. The same author mentions also a single edition, viz. *Laurent. Gilelmi de Saona Rhetorica*, printed at *Villa S. Albani*, 1480, but whether it be our *St. Albans* in *England*, which had the art much sooner, or any other town of that name, beyond sea, of which there are a great many in almost every province, is not easy nor of great moment to determine.

Article VI. LIGNITZ, HASSELET, REGGIO, and MONT-ROYAL, 1481.

§. 1. LIGNITZ in *Silesia*, in which was printed the following book, *Fr. Hermani dialogus*; *Lignis*, without the Printer's name, 1481.

§. 2. AT *Hasselet*, a place unknown, was printed *Recolletorium ex gestis Romanorum*, fol. *Hasseleti*, Orl. 1481.

§. 3. REGIO, a city in *Lombardy*, belonging to the Marquiss of *Este*, rich, ancient and populous, had the Art of Printing from

1. PROSPER ODOARD, and 2. ALBERT MAZALI, 1471.

OF whom we have 3 edit. The two first 1481, the last 1487.

3. BARTHOLOMEW BOTTONUS, alias *Bruschi* of *Reggio*, 1 edit. 1482.

4. DIONYS BERTOCH, who wrought first at *Treviso*, next at *Venice*, then at *Modena*, settled at last at *Reggio*, where we find 4 edit. of his from 1496 to 1498.

5. FRANCIS MAZALA, of *Reggio*, 3 edit. from 1498, to 1499.

§. 4. MONT-ROYAL, in *Latin Mons Regalis*, in the Kingdom of *Sicily*, and near the city of *Palermo*, where *Dominic de Nivaldis* and his sons printed an edition of *Æsop's Fables* in *Latin verse*, fol. 1481.

§. 5. AT *Wartsburg*, in *Latin Herbipolis*, was printed *Missale in usum Ecclesie Herbipolensis*, impress *Herbipoli*, fol. 1481.

This book the earl of *Pembroke* told me he saw at *Oxford*; it has a *Latin* privilege at the end, empowering Mr. *Iforius Ryfer* to print those *Missals*, and to adorn them with rubricks. We have already taken notice, that this book had been set down in the list of Archbishop *Laud's* books for a MS. which is the reason it has not been mention'd by any of our annalists.

Article

*Article VII. The Cities of PISA, AQUILA, ERFORD
and LANGRES, 1482.*

§. 1. PISA is an antient, rich and populous city of *Tuscany*, where the Art of Printing got but small footing and encouragement. It is very likely that the wars which rag'd in several parts of *Italy*, from the time of the art's being brought to it, might be a great cause of the small progress it made in this, as well as many other, otherwise, considerable cities of *Italy*. We find but 4 editions printed here, the three first dated 1482, 1484 and 1489, are without Printers names. The only one that has, is *Antonii Parnormit. libri IV. dictorum factorum, &c. fol. by Gregory de Gente. Pisis 1485.*

§. 2. AT *Aquila*, an episcopal city in the territory of *Abruzzo*, distant about sixty miles from *Rome*, was printed an *Italian* version of *Plutarch's* lives, by *Adam de Rotwill*, a German, who styles himself *Stampatore eccellente. Aquilæ 1482.*

ORLANDI tells us pag. 196, that Mr. *Robert Frebairn*, (now the king's Printer in *Scotland*, and a particular friend of mine) shew'd him among some of his curious annotations upon editions which he had seen, the first part of the aforesaid lives printed at *Aquila, ann. 1472*; but said, he never could see the second part which was afterwards added to the first. The credit of this entirely depends upon that gentleman's observation; but our author says, that he never saw any other part but this which we have given, nor heard of it from any but him.

§. 3. AT *Erford*, a large city in *Germany*, erected into an university ann. 1391, and subject to the elector of *Mentz*, was printed *Lutrens de anima. Erford 1482.*

§. 4. AT *Langres*, an episcopal city in *Burgundy*, the people of which were call'd *Lingones* by *Lucan*, *Claudian*, &c. and still retain that name; we find the following edition, viz.

Jo. de Turre-cremeta. ord. præd. card. expositio super psalterium. Impres. per Johan. Fabri Lingonensem, 1482.

IT hath no place's name; only *la Caille*, and after him *Orlandi* have suppos'd it, from the Printer's appellative, to have been printed at *Langres*. However the reader may find the same Printer at *Turin*, from anna

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1474 to 1477, and at *Lyons* from 1478 to 1485. *Orlandi* dates the same edition from *Turin*, by the same Printer, where I think it more properly belongs.

Article VIII. GAUNT and MEMINING, 1483.

§. 1. GAUNT, in *Latin Gandavum*, is too well known by most readers to need a description. Here were printed the two following editions without the Printers names.

1. GUILLELMUS *Parisiensis de rhetoricâ divinâ*, 4to. *Gandavi. Orl.* 1483.

2. BOETII *de consolatione Philosophiæ*, lib. 5. cum *S. Thom. Aquin. comment. fol. ibid.*

§. 2. AT *Memining*, a City in *Swabia*, between *Ulms* and *Ausburgh*, we find six editions printed from ann. 1483 to 1494, all without Printers names.

C H A P. XII.

The rest of the Cities and Places, which began to print before the year 1500, with an Account of the Books printed there.

Article I. The Town of SONCINO, 1484.

SONCINO is a town or castle in the duchy of *Milan*, between *Brescia* and *Cremona*, and famous for being the place in which the first *Hebrew* books were printed. The Christians had hitherto esteem'd such a design too expensive and impracticable; it being scarce possible to find artists in those early days, who could cut punches exactly enough in that difficult and unpractis'd character. Another difficulty, which seem'd to them almost unsurmountable was, that to cast the letters with the points and accents, would multiply the cases to an excessive degree; and to print without points, accents, &c. would have infallibly prevented the sale of their books, because few at that time, except the Jews, could read

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read without them; and to cast the points and accents by themselves, and interline them as now, seem'd then perhaps wholly impracticable. We have seen under the article of *Aldus Manucius*, that he procur'd a font of *Hebrew* types; but tho' the Jews had already printed at *Soncino* and elsewhere for above twelve or fifteen years, which might have given him an insight into their method of printing in that language, yet he found it so difficult, that he made but little use of them; and I can find nothing done by him in that kind, but an *Hebrew* alphabet, which *Chevillier* tells us is preserv'd in the *Sorbon* library. The Jews therefore, as they were the fittest for such a province, were the first who set about it. What encouragement they might receive from the Christians in such an undertaking, I cannot affirm; yet it is probable they might in a great measure depend upon that; and without leave from the Pope and the Dukes of *Milan* they dar'd not have attempted it. Soon after the Jews had propagated this art into several cities of *Italy*, such as *Brescia*, *Bologna*, *Rimini*, *Fano*, *Pesaro*, and even as far as *Constantinople* and *Salonica*, in all which places they inscrib'd their editions as done by some of the family of *Soncino*; the Christians who now began to print in *Hebrew* in most cities of *Europe*, in *Italy*, at *Venice*, *Cremona*, *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Ferrara*, *Leghorn*, *Padua*, *Naples*, &c. in *England*, *London* and *Oxford*; in *Germany*, *Basil*, *Frankford*, *Cologne*, &c. in *France*, *Paris*, *Lyons*, &c. with some cities of *Spain*, *Holland*, *Poland*, &c. set up some ingenious artists, who engag'd in that province; tho' it must be own'd that the editions of the Jews were far preferable to those for beauty and correctness. However there were few impressions of this kind printed any where, but by these Jews of the *Soncino* family, 'till after the year 1500. Mr. *Mattaire Ann. Typog.* vol. i. p. 152. makes a curious observation after father *le Long*, which is, that in all the books that he had seen printed in this tongue before that year, as often as the name of God occurs in the text, they made use of the letter *Daleth* instead of *He*. Thus for instance they printed יהוה for יהוה, and אלהים for אלהים; for which no reason can be assign'd.

I MUST not omit giving the reader an account, which we meet with in *Buxtorf* the father, of a book, that he tells us was in the possession of *Joseph Scaliger*, of a much older date than those of *Soncino*. It was an
Hebrew

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Hebrew grammar intitled *Mabala Scevile Haddas*, written by *R. Moses Kimchi*, which *Buxtorf* says had been printed in *Sicily* 152 years ago; *Habuit Josephus Scaliger impressum in Sicilia ante annos 152.* (These words *Buxtorf* the son did not alter, when he reprinted his father's book at *Basil*, anno 1640 in 8vo.) This, if it be true, will oblige us to seek much higher for the origin of *Hebrew-printing*, than the year 1484; which is the time wherein *Rabbi Gedaliab*, and after him the learned *Bartolocci* have affirm'd it to have begun; for if we subtract 152 years from 1613 in which *Buxtorf* wrote, it will bring us to the year 1461. *Chevillier* p. 267 tells us, that he saw a third edition of this grammar, printed at *Ortona* in the kingdom of *Naples*, in the second year of *Charles* king of *Sicily* and *Jerusalem*, i. e. anno 1496, which shews that there must have been two editions of it before; and *Cornelius a Beugben* in his *Incunab. Typog.* p. 126 mentions an old *Hebrew* edition printed at *Bologna*, anno 1471, with this title, *R. Obadia Sephorno lux populorum. Liber Hebraicus sic dictus, Bononiæ* 1471. But as he doth not tell us in what library he met with it, and as we have not a sufficient certainty of the truth of the dates of this and the other book mention'd by *Buxtorf*; I can see no reason for departing from the epoch of our latest annalists, to assign a new one upon uncertain grounds.

THE first *Jew* who oblig'd the world with *Hebrew* impressions, was

MOSES the Son of RABBI ISRAEL NATHAN, 1484.

A NATIVE of *Spire* in *Germany*, whose family multiply'd so much, and receiv'd such encouragement in this undertaking, that they spread themselves over several parts of *Italy*, and printed many noble editions with vast success and applause. Among these a son of this *Moses* nam'd *Rabbi Gerson*, after he had printed several works at *Brescia*, of which we have given an account, went and set up a Press at *Constantinople*, some time before the close of this century, and continued printing there till ann. 1530. Some of his sons remov'd to *Salonica*, and other cities of the *Ottoman* empire, where they met with the same success. But as their works, at least as far as we know of them, were done after the year 1500,

I shall

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I fhall not give the reader a lift of them, but confine myfelf to thofe printed in *Italy* before that time. The editions at *Soncino* are as follows.

1. MINCHAH *Happenini* 4 to. *Soncini*, anno mundi 5244. which answers to our 1484.
2. BECHINAL *Olam*. (Hebr.) *ibid.* 1485.
3. PROPHETÆ *priores*. (Hebr. absque punctis) cum Com. R. David *Kimchi*. fol. *ibid.* 1486.
4. IKKARIM. per R. *Joseph Albo*. *ibid.* 1486.
5. BIBLIA *Hebraica cum punctis per Abraham fil. Rabb. Hhajim*. fol. *ibid.* 1488.
6. BERACHOTH and *Beitzab*. *ibid.* 1489.
7. JAD HHASAKAH RAMBAM. 2 fol. 1490.

Article II. LEIPSICK. 1484.

LEIPSICK, in *Latin* *Lipsia*, the Capital of *Saxony*, and founded into an university in 1404 by *Frederic*. 1. elector of that name, receiv'd the Art of Printing in 1484; and tho' it produ'd but few impressions before the year 1500, and yet it is become one of the most famous cities in *Germany* for the numbers of books printed there. The first Printer who settled there was,

I. MARK BRANDT,

OF whom we have only the following edition, viz.

ALBICII *Archiepiscopi Pragensis praxis medendi*. 4to. per *Marcum Brandt*. *Lipsiæ*. 1484.

¹ At the End of the Pentateuch are these Words;

Et absolutum est opus ministerii, viginti quatuor sapiens ad docendum legem in Israel excellens & illustris Josua Selomo (videat semen, producat dies vitæ. amen.) filius illustris sapientissimi Israel Nathan, feriâ tertiâ xi mensis Fiar ann 4740 juxta minorem supputationem manu minimi in familia sua, fidelis chalcographi, Abraham F. illustris Rabbi Hhajim felicitis memoriæ, ex viris piis terræ Pisauri Bononiæ, Impressum opus Soncini.

K k

Chevillier p. 80. mentions another Hebrew bible printed in fol. at *Bologna* in the same year 1488. It is in the Library of *C. Barberini* at *Paris*; the Catalogue of which gives us an account of it in the following Words, pag. 147. *Biblia Hebraica Bononiæ ab impressoribus Soncinenfibus apud Abrahamum Farzium Pisaurensem*. 1488. But it is a question whether it be not the same with this of *Soncino*.
² *Rambam* is an abbreviation of *Rabbi Moje-Ben-Maimon*; as *Abenezra* is of *Abraham Ben-Ezra*, &c.

2. GER.

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2. GREGORY BOETICHER, 1 edit. 1493.
3. WOLFGANG MOLITOR *de Monaco*, 2 edit from 1495, to 1496.
4. JAMES THANNER, 2 edit. from 1498, to 1499.

WITH about twenty more without Printers names.

5. ANDREW Faisner, a learned man, of whom we have given a full account under the article of *Nuremberg*, where he follow'd the Business of printing and correcting till the year 1478, after which he remov'd to *Leipsick*, and became *Rektor magnificus* of that university. The only book we find printed by him here is the *Historia Longobardica*, but our German author not having given us the date of it, no proper rank could be assign'd to it in this list.

Article III. VIENNA and URBINO, 1484.

§. 1. VIENNA (not the capital of *Austria*, as *Orlandi* thought) but a city in *Dauphiny* had two Printers, viz.

1. PETER Schenk of whom we have only the following edition, *L'Abuse de Cour*, fol. par Pierre Schenk.

2. CONRARD Celtis, 1 edit. 1500.

§. 2. AT Urbino a city in *Italy* famous for being the native place of that excellent painter *Raphael Sancius*; surnam'd from it *Urbino*, was printed the following book without the Printer's name.

PAULI Middleburgensis Episcopi Sempronensis *Practica de pravis constellationibus, ad Maximilianum Casarem, Urbini*, 1484.

Article IV. ANTWERP, HEIDELBERGH, CREMONA and HARLEM. 1485.

§. 1. ANTWERP, a large, rich and populous city in *Flanders*, did not much signalize itself in the art of printing in this 15th. century, but made ample amends for it in the two following, having produc'd some of the finest and largest editions of any place in the world, and by the number of its Printers, among whom were the famous *Bellers*, *Rapbelengius*, *Plantin*, *Morellus*, *Gumelers*, *Mevofius*, *Verdusen*, and many

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many more, all too well known to the learned, to need a digression here in their praise. The first known Printer here was

1. GERARD LEU or de LEEU. 1485,

Who printed first at *Goude* in 1480, whence he came to *Antwerp*: we have but four editions of his extant, from 1485 to 1491.

2. ADRIAN *de Liefvelt*, 1 edit. 1495.

3. NICOLAS *Kesler* of *Basil*, where he wrought from 1486 to 1494, betwixt which times we find a *Latin bible*, fol. printed by him, in 1487.

WITH a few more without Printers names.

§ 2. HEIDELBERGH is a city and university in the lower *Palatinat*, and seat of the elector *Palatine*, where we find 5 edit. from 1485 to 1489, all without Printers names.

§ 3. CREMONA is a city and university in *Lombardy*, famous for the best violins, &c. the following edition was printed here in 1485.

HERMOLAI *Barbari Castigatio in Plinii Nat. Hist.* without the Printers name. Tho' this is all our annalists mention, yet a learned gentleman assures me he has seen two editions more printed here, one was *Fracastorius* and the other *Vida*.

THE only Printers of this city as yet known are the two following, viz.

1. BERNARDINE *de Misenti* of *Pavia*, and }
2. CÆSAR *de Parma*. } 1 edit. 1492.

WE have seen *Misenti* under the article of *Brescia*, ann. 1495.

§ 4. HARLEM a city in *Holland*, sufficiently known to those who have read the first part of this history, for the great controversy started in favour of it, and for the number of her champions, who have endeavour'd to deck her *COSTER*'s tomb with the trophies of this noble art, has produc'd so small a number of works during this 15th century, if we allow it the *Donatus*, *Speculum*, &c. done upon wooden blocks so much boasted of by the *Dutch Writers* (tho' their title even to these has been shewn to be as precarious as that of *Mentz*;) that the reader no doubt will be surpriz'd, that we have not been able to find but one book printed there before 1500, viz.

252 *The Printers of the City of Abbeville, &c.*

De Proprietatibus Rerum libri xviii Opus Theologicum & Philosophicum,
fol. 1485.

Article V. ABBEVILLE and TOLEDO, 1486.

§ 1. ABBEVILLE a city in *Picardy*, had two famous Printers and Bookfellers settled there for a small space, viz. *John du Pré* and *Peter Gerard* of whom we have but one edition printed here; after which they remov'd to *Paris* as has been said.

S. Augustin de la Cité de Dieu, fol. par *Jean du Pré & Pierre Gerard* xxviii Novem. 1486.

§ 2. TOLEDO, in *Latin Toletum*, an archiepiscopal city of *Aragon* in *Spain* printed

PETRI *Ximenes Confutatorium errorum contra Claves ecclesiæ; nuper editorum Toleti*, without the Printers name, 1486.

PETER *Hugembach* reprinted by order of Cardinal *Ximenes*.

MISSALE *mixtum secundum Regulam Beati Isidori, dictum.*

MOZARABES fol. 1500.

Two years after he was order'd by the same Cardinal to print the breviary of the same *St Isidorus*.

THESE two Books are reckon'd very scarce and valuable, especially by those of the Church of *Rome*.

§ 3. RIMINO, in *Latin Ariminum*, a city in *Romania*, had a Printer of the Jewish family of *Soncino*, before mentioned, who printed

R. *Joseph Albo Philosophi, Arbor plantata*, in *Hebrew* 4to. 1486.

THIS book contains the fundamentals of the Jewish religion, and is levelled against the Christians.

§ 4. AT *Munster*, in *Latin Monasterium*, an episcopal city, we meet with the following editions printed by *John Limburgh*.

RODOLPHI *Langii nobilis Westphali & Monasteriensis Canonici Carmina*, 1486.

§ 5. AT *Messina*, a famous city of *Sicily*, we find two books printed, one without Printers name, viz.

HISTORIA *præliorum Alexandri Magni Ducis Maced.* fol. 1486.

THE

The Printers of the City of Modena, &c. 253

THE other is printed by

WILLIAM Schonberger of Frankford, and is dated, 1498.

Article VI. 1. MODENA, 2. BOISLEDUC, 1487,
3. EYCHSTADT, 4. TUBINGEN, 5. ROCCEN,
6. GAETA, and 7. THOLOUSE, 1488.

§ 1. MODENA, in *Latin Mutina*, is an ancient city in *Italy*, now under the dominion of the house of *Este Duke of Parma and Modena*. The first Printer we find here was

1. DOMINIC Rocciola of whom we have seven editions from 1487 1498.

2. DIONYS Bertoch, whom we have seen already under the articles of *Venice, Treviso and Reggio*, and under several names, did at length conclude the century at *Modena*. We have two editions left of him from 1499 to 1500.

§. 2. AT Boisleduc, in *Latin Boscum-Ducis*, a strong city in *Brabant* was printed one edition, viz.

PRÆCEPTA XX. *Elegantiarum grammaticarum*, 4 to. 1487.

§. 3. AT Eychstet in *Upper Bavaria*, in *Latin Eisteta*, was printed *Obsequiale sive Benedictionale Eistetense per Michaelem Keiser*, 1488.

§. 4. TUBINGEN a city in the duchy of *Wirtemberg*, and made an university in 1477. had a Printer nam'd.

FREDERIC Meynberger, who printed two editions of *Gabriel Biel's expositio Canonis Missæ*, from 1488 to 1489. The last of which was revis'd by *Vendelin Stembach*, and is much more correct than the first, but has neither Printer nor places name.

§. 5. ROUEN in *Latin Rothomagum*, is an archiepiscopal see, and the capital of *Normandy*, whose first Printer was,

1. JOHN le Bourgois of whom we have 2 edit. from 1488 to 1498.

2. MARTIN Morin, 3 edit. from 1494 to 1500.

3. PETER Regnault, Printer and bookseller, whom we have seen in the article of *Caen*, 1 edit, 1500.

254 *The Printers of Siena and Hagenaw.*

At this place was printed a book, on the subject of grammar, for Martin Coestlin dwelling at Exeter, and the only one I ever met with, which is in the Earl of Pembroke's library.

§. 6. AT Gaeta an ancient city in that part of Italy, call'd Latium, was printed by,

MASTER Justus, 1 edit. viz.

DIALOGO de S. Gregorio Papa, fol. 1488.

§. 7. THOLOUSE is the capital city of Gascony, in which we read of John James Colomiez with some more of his own family exercising the Art of Printing before and after the year 1500, but can meet with only one edition before the close of the century, viz. Thomæ de Valois in D. Augustini de Civitate Dei Commentarii, Tholouse 1488, without Printer's name.

Article VII. The Cities of SIENA and HAGENAW, 1489.

§. 1. SIENA, an ancient city and university in Tuscany, had an eminent Printer nam'd Sigismund Rot, of whom we have two editions still extant, one without date, viz. L. Florus de gestis Romanorum, and Cicero's Clausulæ Epistol. 1489; but whether he was the same with that Sigismund, who surnam'd himself de Libris, and for whom Dominic de Lapis printed several books at Bologna anno 1476, or some other, is not easy to determine: these two are all the books which I could find printed at Siena before the close of the century.

§. 2. AT Hagenaw, a city in Alsatia in upper Germany, but now under the French king, we find the following edition dated 1489, but without Printer's name, viz.

JOH. de Garlandia Cornutus, sive Disticha Exametria Moralia cum interpretatione. Hagenoæ.

THE two following Printers, Job. Ryman and Henry Gran, did likewise print in this city: we have two editions of theirs, one dated 1497, and the other 1500.

WE find likewise some other works done here without Printer's names from 1493 to 1500.

Article

Article VIII. The Cities of LISBON and SEVIL, 1491.

§. 1. LISBON, in *Latin Ulyssipo*, the metropolis of the kingdom of Portugal, did not signalize itself by any productions in this kind, if we except the two following ones, which being both in *Hebrew*, might be done by some of the family of *Soncino*, mention'd before. They are as follows,

PENTATEUCHÈ *Hebraia cum Paraphras. Chald. & punctis, fol. Ulyssipone, 1491.*

ISAIAE & Hieremiæ lib. cum Comment. Rabbi David Kimchi, *Hebraicè, fol. Ulyssipone, 1497.*

2. SEVIL, in *Latin Hispalis* and *Sevilia*, is an ancient archiepiscopal city and university in *Spain*, in which we find

PAUL de Colonia, *Job. Pegniczer de Nuremberg, le Grand and Thomas*, flourishing anno 1491; in which they printed the two following works, after which we hear no more of them.

ALPHONS. *Test. Episc. Abulensis opera, fol. Hispali.*

FLORETUM S. Matthæi collectum a R. Præsule Cauriens. Petro Praxano in sacr. Scriptura Professore Siciliæ, both 1491.

BESIDES these we meet with three other works printed by

MEYNARD UNGUT German, and STANISLAUS Polonese,
Partners.

THEY are all three in *Spanish*, the first is dated 1494, and the other two 1495.

Article IX. DOLE and INGOLDSTAD, 1492.

§. 1. AT Dole, a city in low *Britany*, was printed the following book,
HARNMUNDIENSIS *Leetio declarativa de Epidemio morbo, 4to, per Johannem Hebertin, Dolæ, 1492.*

§. 2. AT Ingolstadt, a city in *Bavaria*, was printed in the same year, *Porphyrii Isagoge, fol. Ingolstadii 1492, without Printer's name.*

Article

256 *The Printers of the City of Luneburgh, &c.*

Article X. LUNEBURGH, MAGDEBURGH, THESSALONICA, FRIBURGH and ANGOULESME,

1493.

§. 1. JOHN LUCE printed at *Luneburgh* in lower Saxony, *Tho. a Kemp. de Imitat. Christi*, 8vo, per Jo. Luce, 1493.

§. 2. AT *Magdeburgh* in lower Saxony was printed *Vincentii. Ordin. præd. anno Christi 1455, canonizati contemplatio de Homine interiore*, without Printer's name, *Magdeburgi* 1493.

§. 3. AT *Theſſalonica*, an archiepiſcopal city in *Maçedonia*, we find the following edition in *Hebrew* by one of the family of *Soncino*, as is ſuppos'd, tho' there is no Printer's name to it.

R. ISAAC A BARBANEI, ſeu ut alii, *Abravanel celebris Judæi, & magnæ æſtimationis, qui obiit A. M. 5269, Commentarius in Prophetas priores, videlicet Jeſuæ, Judicum, Samuelis I & II. Regum I & II. Hæbraicæ, fol. Theſſalonica, 1493.*

§. 4. AT *Friburg* in upper Germany, we find three editions printed by one *Kilian*, from 1493 to 1499.

§. 5. AT *Angoulesme* in France was printed the following work, viz. *GRÆCISMUS Angoliſmi*. without Printer's name.

Article XI. LYRIA, MADRID and BARCELONA, 1494.

§. 1. LYRIA is a caſtle in the kingdom of *Valentia* in Spain, where the following *Hebrew* work was printed by ſome of the *Soncino* family, viz.

PROPHETÆ priores cum Com. R. David Kimchi, fol. Leiria, 1494, without Printer's name.

§. 2. AT *Madrid* the capital of Spain was printed *Concilium Illiberitanum, fol. Madrid 1494.*

§. 3. AND at *Barcelona*, the capital of *Catalonia*, we find three editions from 1494 to 1500, without Printer's names.

Article XII. GRENADA, MONTFERRAT, MIRANDULA and PAMPELUNA, 1496.

WE have but one edition of each of theſe four places; the three firſt are inconfiderable, and without Printer's names: the laſt is printed by *William de Brocario*.

Article

The Printers of the City of Avignon, &c. 257

Article XIII. AVIGNON, LEYDEN and PROVINS, &c. 1497.

1. AT *Avignon*, a city in the southern part of *France*, subject to the pope, we meet with a Printer nam'd *Nicolas Lepe*, a native of that city; we have but one edition of his before the close of the century, viz. anno 1497.

2. AT *Leyden* in *Holland*, one edition in *low Dutch*.

3. AT *Provins* (not a province so call'd in the south part of *France*, as *Orlandi* and others have mistook it) but a town in the county of *Brie* in the same kingdom; we have one small edition printed by one *William Tavernier*, 1497.

4. AT *Bergamo*, we find one edition dated, anno 1498; and

5. AT *Bemberg* two, anno 1499; the former is without the Printer's name, the last by *John Pfeil*.

I MUST not omit acquainting the reader that there are still above twenty editions, which being without dates, places, or Printers names, were not reducible to our former lists, tho' they are suppos'd to have been printed before the close of the 15th century. The reader may find them at the end of Mr. *Mattaire's* annals, vol. 1. with such remarks as that diligent author could make upon them.

I SHALL conclude this chapter with this observation, that the Art of cutting upon wooden blocks having past from the Printers to the engravers of cuts, they began to intersperse them among their works; so that we find many histories, both sacred and profane, adorn'd with wooden cuts, which, tho' already mention'd in the lists of impressions under every city, yet we shall subjoyn here altogether, at least the most considerable of them.

1. THE *Speculum*, or mirrour of our salvation in *Latin*, and another in *low Dutch*.

2. THE *Speculum morientium*, or mirrour of a dying person.

3. THE history of St. *John's* Apocalypse.

ALL these are challeng'd by the *Dutch* writers in favour of *Harlem*.

4. MEDITATIONES in figuras, quas Romæ in templo S. Mariæ supra Minervam pingere.

L 1

5. Cu-

258 *Books adorn'd with Wooden Cutts.*

5. CURAVIT Jo. de Turre cremata, Romæ, anno 1467 and 1473, fol.
 6. FASCICULUS temporum, printed at Louvain, 1474, and afterwards both here and elsewhere, fol.
 7. VALTURIUS de re militari, at Verona, 1472.
 8. PASSIONALE van Jesu und. Mariæ Leben. at Strasburgh, 1477; Geneva, 1490.
 9. ÆSOPI fabulæ, fol. at Naples, 1481, and elsewhere afterwards.
 10. DIALOGUS creaturarum, in low Dutch, at Goude, 1482.
 11. THE Bible, in high Dutch, fol. at Nurembergh, 1483.
 12. LA mer des bistoires, 1 vol. with 286 cuts, at Paris, 1485.
 13. LE proces de Belial, &c. translated out of Latin into French, 4to, at Lyons, 1485, 1490.
 14. ALBAMASAR Arab. astrolog. flores astrologiæ, at Ausburgh, 1489, and elsewhere.
 15. SEBASTIAN BRANT's navis stultifera, at Basil, 1491, 1496, and 1497.
 16. HORTUS sanitatis, at Mentz, 1491.
 17. REVELATIONES S. Brigittæ, fol. at Lubeck, 1492, and elsewhere.
 18. TERENCE, 4to, at Lyons, 1493; Strasburgh, 1496.
 19. OPUS libri chronicon. fol. at Ausburgh, 1497.
 20. GUIL. COURSIN's siege of Rhodes in Latin, at Ulms, 1497.
 21. POLIPHILI Hypnerolomachia, fol. at Venice, 1499, and elsewhere.
- It must be own'd, that the design and performance of these, and many more of that sort, were very rude and uncouth, as all must acknowledge, who have seen them; which is rather owing to the covetousness of the booksellers, who chose to employ the cheapest hands, than to any want of excellent artists in that kind. For soon after the very infancy of Printing we meet with a great number of these engravers, whose performances were vastly superior to the best of those in the foregoing list. Of this number were *Andreas Martegna* in Mantua, *Maso Finiguerra* in Florence, *Bon Martin* in Germany, *Michael Volgemut* and *Albert Durer* at Nurembergh, *Israel Van-Mecheln* at Mentz, *Hans Schauflich* at Nordeling, and many more; some of whom, tho' they were excell'd by their successors in the following century, yet were all excellent masters, and whose names

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names and works will be still valu'd by all skilled in that Art. Engraving upon wood became afterwards no small ornament to the Art of Printing, not only for the fine cuts with which the editions were interspers'd, but likewise for the front, head and tail-pieces, initial letters, &c. which in time became in great vogue. It prov'd also of great use in books of architecture, geometry, prospective, and others, which require a considerable number of demonstrations, figures, &c. in all which cases the wooden ones are much more expeditious, being contriv'd of the same height with the letters, and so impos'd, lock'd up and printed with them at once; whereas the copper ones must be printed off by themselves, and with a different press, which makes this method more tedious and expensive.

C H A P. XIII.

Of some eminent Printers from anno 1500 to 1520; their Improvements to the Art; and their Encouragement from the Great and Learned; with a Catalogue of their most considerable Impressions in the Oriental Tongues, &c.

I HAVE, in the introduction to this second book, given the reader my reasons for extending this history so far beyond the year 1500; and I presume that he is now fully satisfied that it would have been imperfect, if I had stopt there; since the far greatest part of those Printers, who signaliz'd themselves, either for their learning or their industry, in improving every branch of Printing, appear'd not till the close of that century, or the beginning of the next; and consequently, he must have known little of those persons, to whom the world is particularly oblig'd for the vast improvements to this Art. Upon this account I have continued, in the preceeding chapters, the history of several famous Printers to the end of their lives, tho' some of them surviv'd even this epocha many years. But we omitted to give a list of their works beyond 1500,

260 *Eminent Printers from 1500 to 1520.*

because that would have swell'd this volume exorbitantly, and those impressions are less scarce than those of the former century. We shall add nothing therefore to their history, but proceed to do justice to the merit of those, who tho' they enter'd not this province, till after the beginning of the 16th century, yet may be justly esteem'd contemporaries with the former.

'Tis not however to be expected that we should prosecute the same method, as in the former chapters, by shewing the progress of the Art thro' every city, much less by giving an account of every particular Printer, and the number of their impressions; since such an history, how succinct soever, would be too large for a single chapter. Our design is therefore only to mention the most considerable Printers, and to point out the great improvements which each of them made to this Art, the encouragement they met with, and the noble impressions in all languages, particularly the *Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, &c.* (the first of which had been justly essay'd, before 1500, but the other scarce attempted) with an account of the undertakers and assistants in that difficult province. For as to the beauty of the characters, whether Roman or Greek, they were brought to such a degree of perfection in the preceeding century by the *Italians* and *French*, as hardly admitted of much additional beauty.

To proceed in order, we should begin with the Germans, to whom we owe the Art; tho' the *Italians* were the authors of those improvements, which the former were too indolent in imitating; for the oriental tongues, and even the Greek, which the *Italians* had made a very considerable progress in, was still much neglected by them; so that except *Amerbach* and *Froben* at *Basil* in *Switzerland* (which can scarce be call'd a part of *Germany*) who printed an *Hebrew* psalter, and *Erasmus's* *Greek* testament with his *Latin* version of it, anno 1586, we meet with but three eminent persons, who attempted to print in the Eastern languages. The first is *John Schott* of *Strasburgh*, anno 1515, who printed *Lucian's* dialogues of the gods in *Greek* with the *Latin* version of *Othomar Nachtgall*, with the title page in red, and some ornaments on the margin of the *Greek* text, and an *errata* at the end. By the compliments which the translator makes him in the preface, he seems to have been a very good Printer. He printed for

George

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George Maxill about five years before. His rebus or mark is in the table at the end of this book. The second is *Eucharius Cervicorn* (i. e. Harts-horn) at *Cologne*, who printed some *Greek* editions, the first, anno 1517, is the *Hours of the blessed Virgin Mary*, the *seven penitential Psalms*, and some litanies and prayers in *Greek*, with one or two more after. His types are tolerable, but the edition somewhat faulty. The third is *John Potken* of the same city, who publish'd there a psalter in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin* and *Æthiopic*, anno 1518, 4to. This person travell'd into *India*, *Æthiopia*, *Ægypt*, &c. in order to become master of the *Chaldee* or *Æthiopic*, and translated the psalter into that language, and publish'd it with the other versions. He promis'd in his preface to perform something likewise in the *Arabick*, if he should meet with sufficient encouragement; but I do not find that he executed this. As for the Printer of this psalter, his name is no where to be found in the book.

THIS is all I know of, that has been attempted by the Germans in that kind; tho' to do them justice in another respect, they were industrious in printing *Latin* works that were very voluminous; particularly the *Decretum Gratiani*, printed by *Henry Eggestein*, at *Strasburgh*, which exceeds all that have been since printed for bulk; and *Vincentii Speculum*, by *John Mentel*, in ten large volumes, fol. In the following century they have been no less diligent, and publish'd a very considerable number of impressions.

ITALY follows in course; where, tho' great numbers of editions of the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* writers, as well as of the modern, were publish'd; yet the *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, &c. seem'd almost wholly neglected. 'Tis true, that there had been, as we observ'd, two *Hebrew* editions at *Lisbon* in *Portugal*, one anno 1491, and the other anno 1497; and that the Jews of *Soncino* had printed several *Hebrew* volumes there from 1485, to the close of the century; and, having dispers'd themselves into other cities of *Italy*, continued printing their own books in that language. But with respect to the Christians, no direct attempts were made that way, 'till *Daniel Bomberg*, an *Antwerpian*, set up a Printing-house for *Hebrew* at *Venice*. His first work was the *Hebrew* bible, anno 1511, 4to, reprinted by him several times, and particularly anno 1518; in which year he likewise printed

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printed his *Bibliæ Hebræa Rabinica* in fol. containing the *Hebrew* text of the bible, the *Masora* and *Targums* of *Onkelos*, *Jerusalem*, and *Jonathan*, *R. Joseph*, surnam'd the *Blind*, and other *Rabbi's* comments, &c. which he dedicated to *Leo X.* But tho' *Bomberg* took a great deal of pains in this impression, and was himself a good master of the *Hebrew*, which he had learn'd of *Fælix Pratensis*, a learned *Italian*, who perswaded him to undertake this edition, and assisted in correcting it; yet the *Jews* set no value upon it; but *Rabbi Chajin* prevail'd on him to print another in 4 vol. in fol. which he did anno 1525; and which was reprinted anno 1548. 'Tis not my business to enquire into the merit of those editions; yet I cannot but observe, after several great criticks, that the *Jews* have always succeeded better in works of this kind than the *Christians*, as being more us'd to the niceties of the tongue, especially in its points and accents. *Bomberg* continued printing in *Hebrew* near forty years; and all his works were highly esteem'd on account of the beauty of the character and impression, their correctness, the fineness of the paper, and the number that he printed, which *Jos. Scaliger* tells us amounted to above four millions of crowns of gold. He made use of the most learned *Jews* for his correctors. His greatest work was the *Talmud* printed anno 1520 in xi vol. fol. *F. Bartolucci* observ'd, that after his death *Hebrew-printing* declin'd exceedingly.

THE next improvement of this Art was by printing *Polyglot* works; and herein the city of *Genoa* first oblig'd the world. *Peter Paul Porrus*, a native of *Milan*, but inhabitant of *Turin*, an eminent Printer, undertook to print the *Pentaglot* psalter of *Augustin Justinian*, bishop of *Nebo*, anno 1516, in the house of *Nicholas Justinian Paul*, at *Genoa*. It was in *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, *Chaldaic*, and *Greek*, with the *Latin* versions, glosses and *Scholia*, which last made the 8th column, in fol.

SINCE I wrote this I have seen a fine copy of it upon vellum at my Lord *Pembroke's*, on which I shall venture to make the following observations, viz.

¹ Impressit miro-Ingenio, *Petrus Paulus Porrus*, genuæ in *Adibus Nicolai Justiniani Pauli* præsidente Reipub. genuensi pro Serenissimo Franc. Rege præstanti viro *Octaviano*

Fulgese, anno christianæ salutis millesimo quingentesimo sextodecimo mense VIIIbri. *Petrus Paulus Porrus Mediolanensis, Taurini* degens.

THAT

THAT it is a compleat master-piece in that kind.

THE different disposition of the columns are very regular and neat, and kept up to their exact proportions, nor having one double line in the *Latin* versions, nor are any chasms or white lines seen throughout the work; so that I dare affirm that to this time I have never seen a work so well contriv'd, and so completely finish'd. The *Hebrew* is printed with all the points, both orthographical and musical, the *Greek* and *Roman* is very neat, but above all the *Arabic* (allowing for its antiquity) surpasses all I have ever seen of the kind; and, that nothing may be wanting to compleat the whole, the press-work and ink, both rubricks and black, excels any thing I have seen, except *Durand's Rationale*, printed by the inventor, *Faust*, in 1459, which book I have also seen in my Lord's library.

THE *Arabic* was the first that was ever printed, and this the first piece of the bible that ever appear'd in so many languages; for that of *Potken* at *Cologne* was not publish'd till two years after, and wanted the *Arabic*. The reader might reasonably imagine, that this work met with deserv'd encouragement; yet the reverse appears from the just complaints of the author. For *F. le Long* in his account of the polyglot bibles, p. 36, tells us, , that he (*Justinian*) caus'd no less than , 2000 copies to be printed off, presuming that such a work would , not only procure him a vast reputation, but likewise prove very , gainful to him; the profits of which he design'd to bestow upon , some of his family who were then in want. He fancied that it , would infallibly meet with a kind reception, and that all rich prelates , and princes would think themselves oblig'd to encourage it, and reim- , burse and inable him to proceed with the other parts of the bible. , For this he promis'd in his preface to the psalter; and, about twenty- years after, in his annals of the Republick of *Genoa*, he propos'd to add the whole old testament in all those languages to the new one, which was preserv'd there, done after the same manner; and this he would un- doubtedly have perform'd, had he not been unfortunately drown'd in his passage to the isle of *Corfica* the following year. , But, continues , *Le Long*, he (*Justinian*) was deceiv'd by his too great credulity; , every

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, every body applauded the work, but few proceeded further than that ;
 , scarce a fourth part of what he had printed was sold off. , He says
 afterwards, , that, this psalter being of no use to any except the learned,
 , he found it impossible to reimburse himself the expence he had been
 , at ; because, besides the 2000 copies upon paper, he had about fifty
 , printed upon vellum, which he presented to all the kings, whether
 , Christians or Infidels. *Vid. Matt. annal. Typ. Tom. II. par. 1. p. 121.*
sub not. C.

'Tis well that the author's disappointment did not discourage both
 him and others from attempting the like glorious performances : tho' we
 do not find any more works of that prelate in the oriental tongues,
 yet I have met with the following one printed at *Paris*, in 1516,
 which convinceth me, that he publish'd more of them, and in parti-
 cular that which is mention'd in it. It is entitl'd, *Liber Job ad Hebraicam*
veritatem restitutus, duplici Latina versione, una vulgata, altera ex Hebreo
Augustini Justiniani, 4to, i. e. the book of *Job* restor'd to the *Hebrew*
 text, with a double version of it, viz. the vulgate, and another from
 the *Hebrew* by *Augustin Justinianus*, 4to. But when and where *Justinian*
 printed the book of *Job* in *Hebrew* and *Latin*, I can no where find. As
 for *Porrus*, the Printer of the psalter above mention'd, tho' he was paid
 by the Bishop who employ'd him, yet 'tis probable he ventur'd no
 more upon that province ; for we do not find that ever he printed any
 thing more in those languages, tho' he return'd to *Turin*, and printed
 for several years after. His mark or rebus was a leak with a *P* on
 each side, alluding to his name *Peter Paul Porrus*, as was the custom
 of that time to find some beast, bird, plant, &c. that had analogy to
 the person's surname, in order to form a rebus ; as appears from the
 table of them at the end of this book.

THE next considerable work is the bible of that great *Mecænas*,
 Cardinal *Ximenes*, archbishop of *Toledo*, printed at *Alcala de Herares* in
Spain, in *Latin Complutum*, from whence it is call'd the *Complutentian*
 bible. But before we leave *Italy*, I shall just mention some other
 printers, who, tho' they did not excel in this kind, yet oblig'd the
 world with many noble volumes in *Latin* and *Greek*. Of this number
 was *Andreas Azulanus*, father-in-law to the great *Aldus* of *Venice*, who
 suc-

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succeeded him in that Printing-house, and kept up the credit of it for several years. His acquaintance with the members of the learned assembly at *Aldus's* house, as well as with his other foreign correspondents, and his own extraordinary learning enabled him to print many noble editions, which it is not my design to give an account of here, since they may be seen in *Mr. Mattaire's Annals*, vol. II.

THE *Junta's* at *Florence*, a noble family of Printers, some of whom we have spoken of under the heads of *Florence*, *Rome*, *Venice* and *Lyons*, signaliz'd themselves in the preceeding and this century; particularly those of *Florence* were famous for their beautiful and correct editions in *Greek* and *Latin*.

THE *Lilly* was their rebus, with this motto, *Nil candidius*, i. e. *nothing is whiter*; to which they sometimes added the initial Letters of their names, and sometimes printed them at length. There were two of them at *Genoa*, viz. *Philip*, who began to print in 1497, and continu'd till 1518, about which time he is suppos'd to have dy'd, and *Bernard Junta*, but whether a brother or kinsman to him I cannot determine. The former having cause to suspect, that his works might be pirated, according to the custom of those times, obtain'd a patent from pope *Leo X.* of a ten years privilege for all the *Greek* and *Latin* editions, which he should print from that time. As the former are all very curious and highly esteem'd, I shall give a list of the most considerable of them, which is as follows.

- | | | |
|---|-----------|-------------|
| 1. BASILII Magni liber de exercitatione grammatica. | 8vo, ann, | 1515 |
| 2. AUSONII sophistæ præludia, & Hermogenis rhetorica, | 8vo, | 1515 |
| 3. MUSÆUS, Batrachomyomachia, Oppiani Halieutica, | 8vo, | 1515 |
| 4. NOVEN comedie Aristophanis, | 8vo, | 1515 |
| 5. APOLLON de constructione, | 8vo, | 1515 |
| 6. THEODOR. Gazæ grammatices introductionis, lib. 4, | 8vo, | 1515 |
| 7. DION. Areopag. opera, | 8vo, | 1516 |
| 8. XENOPHONTIS opera, | fol, | 1516 |
| 9. PLUTARCHI vitæ parallelæ Græc, &c. fol, | | 1517 |
| 10. PHILOSTRATI icones & heroie, &c. fol, | | 1517 |
| 11. ARISTIDIS orationes, | fol, | 1517 |
| 12. OPHOCLES cum scholiis Græcis, | 8vo, | 1518 |
| M m | | 13. HOMER I |

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13. HOMERI opera. 8vo.

1519

THIS is the last book which he printed; the next, viz. *Florilegium diversorum epigrammatum*, &c. 8vo, being printed by his heirs.

I SHALL mention but one more Printing-house in *Italy*, viz. at the *Quirinal-college* at *Rome*, under the care of the famous *Angel Gallotius*, and protection of pope *Leo*, who was the founder of that college and Printing-house, and among other marks of his favour, gave them a privilege of ten years for all their impressions, some of which were extraordinary fine and correct, and revis'd by the learned *Constantine Lascaris*, often mention'd in this book; of which number were the *Porphyri quæstiones Homericæ* & *de nympharum antro*, &c. and a very antient *Latin* translation of *Homer*, both printed in 1517. *Sophocles's* Scholiast, 1518, and others of great value.

I SHALL now return to that famous bible of cardinal *Ximenes*, as I hinted before, commonly call'd the *Complutensian* bible, which is the only considerable one publish'd, either in *Spain* or any other part of *Europe* before that time. It consists of six large volumes in fol. the first of which contains the new testament in *Greek* and *Latin*, finish'd in 1517; the second is a *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* vocabulary of all the old testament with some other dissertations, finish'd May 31, 1515; the third is the *Pentateuch* in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Chaldee*, with a *Latin* version of each; the fourth is a second part of the old testament, and contains the books of *Josbua*, *Judges* and *Ruth*, the two books of *Samuel*, of *Kings*, and of the *Chronicles*, with the prayer of *Manasseh*, in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, with their *Latin* version; the fifth is the third part of the old testament in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, with the *Latin* version, and contains the books of *Esdra*, *Nehemiah*, *Hester*, *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, the Apocryphal part of *Hester* only in *Greek*; the sixth is the fourth and last part of the old testament in the same languages as the former, and contains the prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, with the *Lamentations* at the end, *Baruch*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel* (with the history of *Sufannah*, and of *Bel* and the *Dragon*) *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiab*, *Jonab*, *Michab*, *Nabum*, *Habakkuk*, *Zephaniab*, *Haggai*, *Zachariab*, *Malachi*, with the three books of the *Maccabees*; these four last volumes were finish'd ann. 1517, July the

the 10th; tho' Mr. *Mattaire* says, that the whole six volumes were not publish'd till the year 1520. Every page both of the old and new testament is divided into three columns: in the old, the first column contains the *Hebrew* text; the middle the vulgate *Latin*; and the third the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*: besides the *Chaldee*, which is plac'd in the inner margin with the version of it opposite to it. The vulgate is printed with *Gothic* letter.

THE only objection against this work is, that the Printers made use of a sort of false letter to fill up the spaces, whenever any of the versions run to a greater length than the text; that there might be no line shorter than another, nor any blank spaces in the column. The new testament is in a very plain large character, without ligatures, abbreviations or accents; tho' that of the *Septuagint* is different; the reason of which they give in the preface, to the following purport; that since all the ancient *Greek* authors, whether sacred or profane, were originally written without them, they were unwilling to introduce any thing into those holy books, which it is certain was neither originally in them, nor of any use towards the understanding of them; but with respect to the *Septuagint*, which is but a translation, they thought it unnecessary to be too scrupulous about it.

THIS work was printed by *Arnold William de Brocario*, in the university of *Alcala de Henares* in *Spain*, at the charges and under the direction of that learned prelate, whose merit in this respect can never be sufficiently extoll'd. *Alphonsus Zamora* tells us, that he gave no less than four thousand crowns of gold for seven *Hebrew* manuscripts; and it would be difficult to determine the sums, which the *Greek*, *Chaldee* and *Latin* manuscripts cost him. As for the learned men, whom he sent for from all parts of *Europe* and *Asia* to assist him in this undertaking, *Malincrot* tells us they were very numerous, of whom we shall mention some. Among the *Greeks* were *Demetrius Cretensis*, *Antony Nebrissenus*, *Lopes de Astuniga*, and *Terdianus Pintianus*, who were all professors of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues, and famous for their works. Of the *Hebrew* professors were *Alphonsus Medicus*, a native of *Alcala*, *Paul Coronellus*, *Alphonsus Zamorali* and *John Vergera*, to the

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last of whom was committed the translation of several books, in which he restor'd a great number of texts, which were wholly unintelligible in the vulgate *Latin*. These, with many of the most considerable men of the university of *Alcala*, were engag'd by the Cardinal with very large salaries in this work, for the space of 15 years, viz. from 1502 to 1517; soon after which he was prevented by death from executing several other glorious designs. A larger account of this work may be seen in *Malincrot*, p. 110. and Mr. *Mattaire's Annals*, p. 124, &c.

WHILE I am upon the subject of Polyglots, I must not omit one great advantage which the art receiv'd from it, and which it hitherto wanted, viz. that of printing in columns, by which the text and version are so easily dispos'd, that the reader may at one view satisfy himself in any scruple, that may arise either from a word wrong printed, or misunderstood in the one, by casting his eye immediately on the other. This is particularly necessary in *Greek* works and their versions; in which when there happens to be some fault of impression, as 'tis almost impossible both text and version should be faulty in the same word, the one may be easily corrected by the other. *Chevillier* gives us many remarkable instances of this, from pag. 240 to 243. I shall only mention one of them, in which the Printer or corrector makes *Ælian* call all the greatest and noblest men of *Greece* errant lyars thro' every part of their lives [*omnes Græcorum clarissimi præstantissimique viri per totam vitam in extrema mendacitate versati sunt*] a reproach which neither the author nor translator ever dream'd of fixing upon that nation. But upon a careful examination of the *Greek* text, the word appears to be *πενία*, and consequently it should have been printed *mendacitate*, i. e. *poverty*, instead of *mendacitate* [lying] which escap'd the corrector's observation.

THERE is another conveniency in this method, viz. that it obliges a translator to be more concise, and to paraphrase less, since the exorbitant length of his version would be visible at first sight. I have already taken notice of *Aldus's* method of Printing the text in one page, and the version in the other; but he was not follow'd in it by any Printer that I know of: whereas as soon as they had taken the hint of these columns from the Polyglot psalter and bible, it was immediately fol-

follow'd by most Printers ; and the famous *Badius*, in his edition of *Angelus Politianus's* works, anno 1519, printed all the epigrams and versions after this manner. How plain soever the advantages of this method may seem, yet several men of learning have decry'd it; and particularly *Antony Muretus* and *Jos. Scaliger* have complain'd, that this way of printing the *Greek* and the version in two columns had been the cause of the former being wholly neglected.

BESIDES books in two languages, the columns are very necessary in large folio's, and sometimes in large quarto's, where the lines run to so great a length, that they puzzle the reader, who is apt to read the same line over again, or perhaps to skip the next, unless he constantly keep his finger moving from one to the other; which is easily remedied by dividing the pages into two columns. This method has obtain'd almost from the middle of the 15th century, and is entirely owing to that of printing the sacred books in several languages and columns. This shall suffice concerning this work printed in *Spain*; in which I find but two Printers more of any note, viz. *John Peter Bonbomin* at *Lisbon*, anno 1514, where he printed a *Spanish* book, entitled *Ordinationes*, &c. fol. in *Gothic*; and *John de Porris* at *Salamanca*, perhaps a relation of *Peter Paul Porrus*, who printed the psalter at *Genoa*, mention'd before.

I COME now to speak of the French Printers, whose merit, tho' late, became at least equal with that of *Italy*, or any other kingdom, in all respects. *Henry Meibomius*, a German historian, owns¹, that the *Art of Printing*, which was invented at *Mentz* in *Germany*, and improv'd in *Italy*, was at last perfected in *France*: which is sufficiently evident from the impressions of *Henry Stephens*, in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, were there no other Printers to be produc'd in favour of that kingdom. But this country has given greater encouragement, or abounded more in excellent Printers, than that; and considering the care the university of *Paris*, whose power and authority over Printers and booksellers we have given an account of under the article of *Paris*, had continually over them, and the many signal marks of their favour, join'd to the genius of the nation, we shall not wonder at the perfection which they brought the

¹ — quod scribendi genus ut *Moguntiae* in & in *Gallia* demum perfectum est. *Chronie.*
Germania inventum, ita apud *Italos* excultum, *Riddagghusenf.* Tom. 3. p. 380.

art to, tho' somewhat later than their neighbours. For we may remember that *Badius*, one of the first who signaliz'd himself in this province, did not begin to print till almost the close of the last century, nor come to *Paris* till the beginning of this. Hitherto, tho' the *Roman* character, and the elegant manner of printing introduc'd by the *Italians*, were here exactly imitated, and in some cases excell'd; yet with respect to the learned languages, especially the *Eastern*, they were much neglected throughout *France*; and tho' the noble *Greek* impressions of *Aldus*, had rais'd an universal desire of reviving that tongue, yet the *French* were backward in introducing it, till they began to be contemn'd by the *Italians*, who were become every where masters of it. The only pieces printed by them in that tongue till that time, were some quotations so wretchedly perform'd, that Mr. *Mattaire* tells us, they were rather to be guess'd at than read. The character was rude and uncooth, without accents, &c. for which *Badius* makes an apology, and desires his readers to impute those errors and omissions to the scarcity of types, and want of compositors who understood in that language. *Franc. Tiffard*, a person compleatly skill'd in *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and qualify'd for such a task, reviv'd those tongues, and prevail'd upon the *Parisian* Printers to introduce them, having printed several books in those languages; whereas before this the expence of importing them from *Venice* was so great, that it deterr'd many from the study of them. At first he address'd a pathetic discourse to the scholars of *Paris* upon that subject; in which he represents how contemptible their neighbours in *Italy* thought them; what epithets they gave their nation, such as, barbarous, proud and ignorant, who pretended to give laws to *Italy*, the most learned and polite nation of the world, whilst themselves were not contented to despise the muses at home, but must make excursions over the *Alps*, to disturb them in their belov'd abodes there. He exhorted them to retrieve the honour of their country, and to apply themselves immediately to the study of those languages; he promis'd them his own and other learned men's assistance; and tells them, that he had caus'd some *Greek* books to be printed, which, tho' cheap, would be great helps to them in that study. In short, he laid before them such powerful motives, and convincing arguments, that he at length rais'd a desire in them of rivalling their neighbours for learn-

learning. His extraordinary merit soon procur'd him the esteem and friendship of the great, who jointly assisted this noble design; among whom was the duke *de Valois*, afterwards king of *France*, and sufficiently known by the name of *Francis I.* the great patron of learning, who receiv'd him into his family and protection.

THE first Greek book which *Tissard* caus'd to be printed at *Paris*, was entitled Βίβλος ἡ γνωμαγωγική, containing the sayings of the seven wise men of *Greece*, *Pythagoras's* golden verses, *Phocylides's* ethic poem, and the verses of the *Eritbrean* sybil upon the last day, with a Greek alphabet and some other inconsiderable pieces. It was printed in 4to, anno 1507, by *Giles Gourmont*, and dedicated to the prince *de Valois* and the archbishop of *Tboulouse*. This work was so well receiv'd, that he caus'd the same Printer to dispatch three more books in that language the same year; viz. 1. *Homer's* Βατραχομομαχία, 4to, or *The battle of frogs and mice*. 2. *Hesiod's* Ἔργα ἡμέραι, 4to. 3. Ἐροτήματα Χρυσολώρα or *Chrysolaras's* Greek grammar, 4to. This last has a tetraſtich written by *Cb. Rousseau*, to acquaint the world that *Francis Tissard* caus'd the first Greek editions to be printed at *Paris*; which *Tissard* himself took care to transmit to posterity in some epistles prefix'd to the books above-mention'd. In these he likewise informs us of the difficulties which he met with in procuring Printers, who would engage in this new province; that they all alledg'd there was neither a sufficient number of Greek matrices and characters in *Paris* for such a work, nor any compositors that understood or could read that language; that the expence of setting up such a Printing-house must be very great, as well as the danger of losing both their labour and money². Notwithstanding this, *Tissard* stopp'd not here, but resolv'd to bring the *Hebrew* into vogue; and to this end caus'd a font of *Hebrew* letters to be cast, and the following year printed an *Hebrew* alphabet and

¹ Primus Parrhasia Graiae nova gloria linguae

² Ambacus Argivum concinet urbe melos: Quo duce morales Sophiae amplexabere leges: Hoc igitur stabili pectore fige memor.

² Cum incussum sibi hoc munus, hanc provinciam assumere vellet nemo nullus non id laboris subterfugeret — characteres praeterea Graecos nobis haecenus defuisse vidi; adeorum quoque aliquot scalpendos, & postmodum liquefaciendos, & denique ad eos impressioni aptandas tradendosque, ut aiebant, sumptibus — opus esse: ad haec ea non intelligere, ne legere quidem, ejusque insolentes fateri.

* *Tissard* was a native of Amboise, in Latin Ambaca: for which reason the poet calls him here Ambacus.

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grammar with a *Greek* alphabet, and some hymns in *Greek* and *Latin* at the end; which book he dedicated to his great patron *Francis* prince *de Valois*. *Giles Gourmont*, who had printed his *Greek* works, likewise undertook the *Hebrew*. It is printed with his name; and tho' there is no date to it, yet it is plain it was publish'd in the year aforementioned. However as he was the first who merited the title of *Greek* and *Hebrew* printer to the city and university of *Paris*, and has publish'd several other *Greek* works after the year 1508, viz. the *Idyls* of *Theocritus*, some of *Lucian's* works, a second edition of *Chrysolaras's* grammar in 1511, the *Gnomologia* and *Aldus's Greek Lexicon* of 1497 much enlarg'd in 1512, the *Grammar* of *Theod. Gaza* in 1516, &c. I thought my self oblig'd to do justice to his merit. He us'd to put his coat of arms at the beginning or end of his books, and sometimes at both, with this French motto; *Toft ou tard, pres ou loing, a le fort du foible befoing*, i. e. sooner or later, far or near, the strong stand in need of the weak, with his name *Giles* or *Ægidius Gourmont*. His mark sometimes was the three crowns of the *Kings* of *Cologne* with the 25th verse of the 37th psalm; *I have been young, and now am old*, &c. in *Hebrew* and *Greek*, under them. He liv'd overagainst the college of *Cambray*, in the square of that name; and his books are much valu'd by the lovers of antiquity, especially at *Paris*. He continu'd printing till after the year 1527. As for the learned *Tiffard*, as we find nothing printed by him, after his *Hebrew* grammar, he is suppos'd to have dy'd about that time.

HOWEVER, he did not want a successor of equal merit to carry on this work; for *Jerom Aleander*, a person so well skill'd in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, as to speak them with as much fluency as his own language, was sent for by *Lewis XII.* from *Italy*, where he profess'd the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues with universal applause. His reputation was so great, that the elector *Palatine* sent his own brother *Wolfgang de Bavarie* to be instructed by him, and the learned *Vatablus*, who had been formerly his scholar, was proud to assist him in some of his works, and take care of their correction, whenever *Aleander* was hinder'd by sickness or avocations. As soon as he came to *Paris*, he employ'd *Gourmont's* presses in printing those *Greek* works which we mention'd just before in speaking of that Printer. The King fail'd not of giving him

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and second *Iliad*, 4to, with *Wolmar's* short notes; and the *Greek* lexicon of *Magnus Chæredamus*; and in 1527, *Gwinler's* *Greek* syntax, 8vo. Anno 1528 *Simon Colinaus*, or *de Colines*, printed *Sophocles* tragedies, and in 1534, the new testament. These, with a few inconsiderable ones more, were all that came out in *Greek* during the space of 27 years, viz. from *Tissard's* first impression in 1507 to 1534; which I have mention'd here, tho' they run beyond our period, to shew how slow their first progress was, tho' their advances afterwards were prodigious. *Chevillier*, from whose list I have extracted the best part of these editions, has carry'd it on to the year 1560; and the reader will find, both in this piece and the remainder of it, several remarkable works omitted by *Mr. Mattaire* in his *Annals*, particularly the *Greek* lexicon and the new testament above nam'd. However as *Chevillier* tells us, that he saw them all in the *Sorbon* library, I thought proper to mention them.

THE reader perhaps will be surpriz'd to find nothing attempted by the Parisians in the polyglot way, whilst the Italians, Germans and Spaniards set them so fair an example. But, whatever be the reason of this neglect, 'tis certain, that if we except the *Psalterium quincuplex* of *Mr. Faber*, or *Fabry*, printed in fol. 1509, by *Henry Stephens*, in *Hebrew*, *Latin* and *French*, with the *Psalterium vetus & conciliatum*, in five columns, and reprinted by him in 1513, and again at *Caen* [*Cadomi*] in *Normandy*, by *Peter Olivier*, in 1515, I can find nothing of that kind during the greatest part of this century. However, it must be acknowledg'd they have made the world ample amends in the next, in which *Antony Vitré* printed that noble work, known by the name of *Monsieur le Jay's* polyglot bible in 1657; which being of too late a date, and so well known to the learned, I shall only say of it, that as far as relates to the Printing part, (for as to the author's merit with respect to learning, 'tis not my province to enquire into) it has not yet been equall'd by any work publish'd, in any nation, either for beauty of character or elegance of disposition, fineness of paper or richness of embellishment; in all which *Mr. le Jay*, who was at the charges of the impression, spar'd neither cost nor labour, in order to render it a master-piece of that kind. Here I must draw a veil over my own

coun-

country, which is greatly injur'd, if it did not contribute to the ruin of the undertaker of this glorious work. An intimate friend at *Paris* sent me word, that the sheets of Mr. *le Jay*'s Polyglot was unfairly procur'd from the press at *Paris* before the work was publish'd, and, by the editor's of the English Polyglot, improv'd and publish'd so soon after, as to reduce Mr. *le Jay* almost to want; after his having expended above 5000*l.* sterling to compleat his work. But, as 'tis unpleasant to relate, I shall proceed.

As for the other printers who flourish'd at *Paris* during this space of 20 years, since my design is only to mention those who were eminent for improvements, unattempted in the former century, I have but few to add to the preceeding. The first in rank and merit is *Henry Stephens*, the father of that numerous family of Printers, whose learning and impressions for near 200 years have been celebrated by much better pens, and particularly by Mr. *Bayle* and *Theod. Janson* abroad, and by Mr. *Nichols*, *Collier*, but much more fully by the laborious and learned Mr. *Mattaire*, in his *Vitæ Stephanorum* and *Annales Typograph.* I shall therefore content my self with giving a short account of their great progenitor *Henry*, as far as relates to my present subject. He began to exercise the Art of Printing about 1502, in company with *Wolfgang Hopyl*, a noted German Printer at *Paris*, of whom we have given an account in the foregoing century. He had afterwards several other partners, viz. *John Petit*, *Dennis Roce*, *John de Brié* and *John Hongel*, all eminent Printers. We have already spoken of his Polyglot Psalter, which, for ought I find, was the only piece he did in that way. As for the Greek, it was so little in vogue in his time, that he printed but little in it. He us'd two sorts of characters for the Latin, viz. the Gothic and Roman, both good in their kind. It were superfluous to tell the reader, that he was a man of great skill in the learned languages, and wrote several curious pieces in elegant Latin. He was extremely correct in his editions, so that their faults are so few, as scarce to deserve an errata; yet he always readily acknowledg'd the smallest number of them, as appears from his edition of *Erasmus's* apology against *Latomus*, in which he confesses,

* that

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* *that some faults escap'd him thro' neglect; tho' the whole was but twenty.* His chief correctors were *Peter Porta, Volgatus Pratenfis, John Solidus* of *Cracow* in *Poland*, and *Beatus Rhenanus*. As he was sworn Printer of the city of *Paris*, instead of a mark or rebus, he us'd to put the arms of that university to his impressions, which is the escutcheon of *France*, with a hand from the clouds holding a book. Several other printers of that city follow'd his example in this. He dy'd in 1520, leaving among other children three sons, who became very eminent, *vid. Mattaire Vit. Steph.* the two first *Robert* and *Francis* in printing, and *Charles* in physick.

His successor was *Simon de Colines*, or *Colinæus*, who marry'd his relict, and educated his two sons before mention'd; and with them rais'd the reputation of his Printing-house higher, than their father could, whilst the learned languages were in their infancy there. I shall only add, that *Robert* became so great a proficient under his father and father-in-law, that he was able to manage that great Printing-house at the age of 18; and that one of his editions of the new testament in 16^o. ann. 1549, printed in a very fine *Greek* character, and very scarce, is affirm'd to be without a fault. This deserves notice, because there is another of his likewise in 16^o, 1546, which has an errata at the end, and is frequently fold for the other. I cannot but observe, that to this *Robert Stephens* we owe the invention of dividing the chapters of the bible into verses, found out by him on a journey from *Paris* to *Lyons*, as we are inform'd by *Theod. Janson de Vit. Stephanorum*, printed at *Amsterdam* ann. 1643, pag. 48; the great advantage of which is obvious to every person.

BEFORE I dismiss the city of *Paris*, I cannot forbear mentioning a most curious and elaborate work, which tho' not printed till the year 1529, yet, both for its singularity and its having been begun many years before, ought by no means to be omitted, I mean the book entitled *Champ-Fleury*, written by the famous *Godfrey Tory*, printer and bookseller of the city of *Bourges*, at the sign of the broken pitcher, and printed by *Giles Gourmont* likewise, Printer and bookseller at *Paris*, under the following title;

* *Locis aliquot incuria nostra aberratum est.*

CHAM-

CHAM-FLEURY, auquel est contenu le Art & Science de la deue & vraye proportion des Lettres Attiques, qu'on dit autrement Lettres antiques & vulgairement Lettres Romaines, proportionnees selon le corps & Visage humain.

THE author, who for his learning had been some time before chosen president of a college in *Burgundy*, and had translated and publish'd several learned works out of *Greek* and *Latin*, ever since the year 1512, was afterwards admitted sworn Printer and bookseller to the king, and to the university of *Paris*; but became most famous for the curious work abovemention'd; in which he endeavours to demonstrate the due proportion of letters from those of a human body and face, as appears by the title. As it would spin this chapter to too great a length, were I to give the reader a more particular account of this scarce and singular piece, I shall content my self with referring him to Mr. *Mattaire's Annales Typogr.* vol. II. part 2. from page 550 to 559, where he will find such particularities both of the book and its author, as he will think worth reading, if he has any taste in this way.

I HAVE already dwelt so long upon the subject of Polyglots, the most considerable improvement of the Art in this century; and upon the city of *Paris*, the most celebrated in *France* for productions of that kind; that I shall scarce have room to speak of *Lyons*, *Rouen*, *Tholouse*, *Caen*, &c. which have produc'd many excellent works, if not in the Polyglot way, yet in all branches of the Art. I shall confine my self therefore to those Printers who have cultivated the *Greek* or *Oriental* tongues, and refer the rest to Mr. *Mattaire's Annals*, where the reader may see their merit, and the list of their impressions.

THE city of *Lyons* has been always the next in rank to *Paris*, in every branch of Printing; and if we consider that it receiv'd less encouragement from their princes and the learned, the latter chusing to reside at *Paris*, where there was a greater probability of advancement, we shall wonder that *Lyons* was so little inferior to *Paris*; and may remember, that it produc'd many valuable impressions during the last century. However, the reader must not expect any productions in *Greek*, much less in *Hebrew* and the Polyglot kind, during these 20 years, or long after, since he has seen the slow progress of those languages at *Paris*; and with respect to the *Latin* and modern tongues, they are foreign to our present

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sent purpose. I shall therefore only say, that the *Lyons* Printers publish'd many editions of the classics, &c. law-books, and especially *Latin* bibles, there being scarce a year past for a long time, in which they did not print two or three of them of different versions, and some with very fine rubricks and other curious embellishments. The most remarkable Printers of them were *James Sacon*, or *Sachon*, who printed some works of the fathers, and one time two *Latin* bibles in one year; *James Mareſcball*, *John Moylin* and *Nicholas de Benedictis*.

THE city of *Rouen*, in *Latin* *Rotbomagium*, and *Caen* follow next: but their productions for these twenty years, and after, are so inconsiderable, if we except a *Latin* bible in 4to, anno 1511, and the *Pſalterium quincuplex* of *Faber* aforementioned, which was printed in the latter anno 1515, both by *Peter Olivier*, and a *Latin* bible in the former; that I shall insist no longer upon them. With respect to the other cities of *France*, which receiv'd the Art either before or after the close of the last century, their impressions are still less considerable. I now pass therefore to *Holland* and *Flanders*, where the reader will be surpriz'd to see the Art rather sunk and lost than improv'd. In the preceeding century we find several cities in *Holland*, as *Utrecht* 1473, *Delph* 1477, *Goude* 1479, *Harlem* 1485, and *Leyden* 1497, receiv'd and cultivated the Art; yet now we meet not with a single edition done in any of them; nor find that any other city receiv'd it during those twenty years. As for *Flanders* and *Brabant*, 'tis manifest they have been less negligent than the *Dutch*; for the city of *Antwerp* entertain'd one or two Printers, who publish'd three or four books during this space; the most considerable of which was the new Testament in *Latin* and *Dutch*, in 4to, anno 1509; and the university of *Louvain* had an eminent Printer, *Theodore Martin*, who, having printed at his own native town of *Alost* 'till the end of the 15th century, remov'd to *Antwerp*, where he publish'd some *Latin* editions, and at length came hither and continued printing till 1528, or perhaps longer. His impressions in this city are not indeed very remarkable for their bulk, beauty or number. I find but nine or ten, most of which are school-books, either written or publish'd by *Erasmus*; yet his most considerable work is the *Latin* testament in 8vo, anno 1519, if it was printed by him, as is probable, since we find

no other Printer here during this space, tho' *F. le Long* mentions not the Printer's name.

As for the other cities, which receiv'd the Art before 1500, as *Bruges*, *Alost*, *Brussels*, *Gaunt*, *Boisseduc*, &c. we find so profound a silence among the annalists and historians, as makes me suspect that it either ceas'd entirely there, or that their produce was not worth preserving, unless we suppose that they were lost in the war, of which this country was the seat in those times; which is evidently the case of other countries, especially of those upon the *Rhine*, *Switzerland*, &c. Some eminent authors have told us, that they purchas'd some of those valuable pieces, which had been plunder'd by the soldiers, during the wars, out of the libraries of the monks and others. If this be fact, 'tis strange that *Louvain*, which calls itself the *maiden city*, because it was never taken by any foreign power, should not have preserv'd some more valuable impressions than those of *Theod. Martin*, just mention'd. However, to do justice to the *Low Countries*, and *Holland* especially, I must say, that how negligent soever they were at first in this respect, they have sufficiently oblig'd the world since by their improvements to this Art; nor need I tell the reader how much they have excell'd the English in the goodness of their paper, beauty and variety of characters, and in elegance and correctness of composition; in short, how they have equall'd any nation of *Europe* in every branch of Printing since. In the second volume we shall shew what improvements they have made to the mechanic part of it, and in particular to the Printing-press, chases, &c. the former of which is so compleat, as scarce to admit a greater degree of perfection.

HERE I cannot but observe the strange vicissitudes that have attended this Art since its first invention. We have seen how diligent the Italian nation has been in improving it, what quick progress they made in it, and to what a degree of perfection they brought it even before the close of the 15th century; whereas scarce any nation in *Europe* has neglected it more within these hundred years, having suffer'd their elegant Roman and Italick to degenerate, and are become very careless in their compositions, ornaments, &c. so that they are almost inferior to any country in all the branches of Printing. The French, on the contrary, who did not introduce the fine *Venetian Roman*, *Italick*, and *Greek* 'till late in the

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16th-century, have been allow'd the best Printers, 'till *Elzevir* arose; since which time the Dutch, who were by far the latest of any nation in *Europe* in bringing it to the perfection which their neighbours had, have been lately superior to all. I shall say but little of *England*, where every reader is already sensible what rank our Printers here deserve with respect to other countries; but 'tis with the utmost regret that I observe our nation, which took so much pains to have the Art brought over in its earliest days, and cultivated it with so much application, should have been so far excell'd by the French and Dutch Printers, and even by those of our own nation, who liv'd a century and a half ago. But were the reader conscious of the disadvantages we labour under, and the small Profit we reap from our labour, he would rather be apt to wonder that any of us have been able to keep it up to that degree of perfection it is still in. I could easily make it appear from whence these difficulties arise. This complaint, which is far from being new, the *Latin* reader will find elegantly express'd above 150 years ago by *Cornelius Kelian*, one of the great *Plantine's* correctors, in an epigram of sixteen verses, which I have subjoin'd at the bottom of the page¹. However, this I may modestly say for our selves, that, whenever we have met with sufficient encouragement, we have demonstrated our capacity by printing as beautiful and correct impressions as any of our neighbours.

BUT to return from this digression, which I hope will merit the reader's pardon, I shall now mention some cities in other kingdoms, which receiv'd the Art after the 15th century, and conclude this chapter with some remarks on the success of it in other parts of the world.

HITHERTO we have not seen that any Printer ventur'd farther North than the empire of *Germany*. As for the kingdoms of *Poland*, *Sweden*,

¹ *Typographus Mercenarius.*

Arte mea varias excudo Typographus artes;
Ars tamen hæc tenues artifici addit opes,
Rite characteres ad justam redigo normam,
Constet ut ex æquis pagina verficulis.
Incisas nigra fuligine tingo figuras;
Callosa prelum volvo trahoque manu.
Ecce iterum hesternus mihi adest labor actus
in orbem;
Quas struxi formas destruo, & inde struo.

Diruo & ædifico; vigilatus transigo noctes;
Sollicitum cruciat cura, premitque labor.
Verum quid profunt curæ durique labores,
Cum misero pateat semita nulla lucri?
Noster alit sudor numatos & locupletes,
Qui nostras redimunt, quique locant operas.
Noster alit sudor te, Bibliopola, tuique
Consimiles, quibus est vile laboris opus.

Denmark,

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Denmark, &c. they imported books from *Germany* and other countries, and transmitted any works thither, which they wanted to have printed. I can find no city in those parts, except *Cracow*, the metropolis of *Poland*, that receiv'd it so soon as 1520; and even in this we have but one inconsiderable impression done in 1518, viz. a diary of *Sigismund*, the king of *Poland's* nuptials, printed by one *Jerom Victor*, in 4to. I shall therefore pass over to *Turky*; were we find some of the dispers'd *Jews* of *Soncino*, and particularly *Rabbi Gerson*, who, as we gave an account under the article of that place, brought the art to *Constantinople*; whilst others settled at *Theffalonica* and other parts, of which we have but a small account, and carry'd on the business of printing with good success. But it must not be suppos'd that the *Turks* invited them or any other Printers thither, much less that they gave them any other encouragement than a large toleration. On the contrary, we have shewn in a former chapter, how Sultan *Bajazet II.* publish'd an edict in 1483, against the use of printed books under pain of death; which edict was afterwards confirm'd by *Selim I.* his son. The encouragement therefore which they receiv'd was from the *Christians* and *Jews*; the latter undoubtedly were pleas'd to have their own books at a more moderate rate, than when they were only transcrib'd; and the former, being willing not only to have the old Testament printed by them more correct than the editions of *Christian* Printers, but likewise to have it dispers'd among the *Turks*, *Indians*, &c. who were wholly ignorant of those important truths contain'd in it, spar'd no cost to purchase them. Besides this, their *Targums*, *Talmud*, and other *Rabbinical* learning were brought up by the *Christians* to furnish themselves with what arguments they cou'd, against that poor infatuated people, out of their own books. And perhaps this might be the main motive which induc'd those two Sultans to publish so severe an edict against printing any books in the *Turkish* language, since the aversion of that nation to almost every branch of learning, and especially the religious, is sufficiently known.

I FIND however but three editions of the sacred books printed in that emperor's territories, during these twenty years, viz. at *Constantinople*.

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I. THE

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1. THE book of *Tobit* in *Hebrew*, without points, in 4to, in 1517.

2. THE book of *Esther* in *Hebrew*, with the commentary of Rab. *Isaac Armah*, 4to, 1518.

And at *Theſſalonica*.

THE book of *Pſalms*, *Proverbs*, *Job* and *Daniel* in *Hebrew*, with the commentary of R. *Raſi*, in fol. in 1500. Beſides theſe three editions, which are all that Mr. *Mattaire* has given us out of father *Le Long*'s *Bibliothec. ſacr. Chevillier*, pag. 266, mentions ſome others which I ſhall here ſubjoin, viz.

1. ONE at *Conſtantinople* in 1506. *Chevillier* does not tell us what it is.

2. *Jad Khaſakkah*, fol. *ibid.* 1509.

3. *Jofippus Ben Gorion*, fol. 1510.

THE two laſt M. *Simon* tells us, he made uſe of in his *critical* hiſtory of the Old Teſtament.

4. *Bereſith Rabbah*, of Rab. *Bar. Nachman*, fol. *Conſtantinople* 1512.

THIS book is now in the *Sorbon* library.

THO' theſe be all that we can yet find to have been printed in *Turky* from 1500 to 1620; yet I cannot perſuade myſelf, that they were all which the *Jews* printed there, but am apt to believe, that they were bought up by the eaſtern *Chriſtians*, *Jews*, &c. and carried to the remote parts of *Aſia* and *Africa*; whiſt the *Jews* of *Soncino* and others were grown ſo numerous as to ſupply thoſe countries with works of that kind. However that be, I do not find that this art made any further progreſs in theſe parts of the world during this ſpace, or at leaſt that thoſe authors, who have repreſented its advances greater, have been much depended on by thoſe that wrote after them; and therefore I think myſelf obliged to ſtop here.

I HAVE already tranſgreſs'd my propoſ'd limits, as often as the life of any eminent Printer has extended beyond them, or any material occurrence happen'd worthy of the reader's notice. Agreeable to which liberty, I ſhall now cloſe this chapter with ſome remarks on the ſucceſs which attended the art, tho' at ſome diſtance of time from the year 1520. Firſt 'tis obſervable, that it has extended itſelf to *Africa* and *America*; not indeed at the invitation of the natives, eſpecially of *America*.

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America, but by means of the *Europeans*, and particularly of the *Spanish* missionaries; who carry'd it to the latter for their ends, where it has throve, tho' not flourish'd ever since. The *Romish* society *de propagando fide*, gives us an account of printing-houses being set up in the cities of *Goa*, *Rachol*, in the country of *Salsetta*, *Manella*, the metropolis of the *Philippine* islands, &c. in the first of which were printed the two following works, viz. *Doctrina Christiana lingua Malabarica Tamul et litteris Malabaricis in collegio Goano*, 1577. This edition was in *Scaliger's* possession, and is now among those which he bequeath'd to the university of *Leyden*. The other is part of *Confucius's* works printed likewise at *Goa* in 1569; a copy of which is now in the emperor's library at *Vienna*. We find also some printing-houses set up about this time in the city of *Lima*, capital of the empire of *Peru*, and in several cities of the kingdom of *Mexico*. I shall only add, that our honourable society for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, having heard of the good success, which *Mr. Ziegenbalg* and *Mr. Grundler*, two *Danish* missionaries, sent to the coast of *Tanquebar* by his *Danish* majesty, had in converting a great number of the natives of that country to the christian faith, were pleas'd to send them the whole apparatus of a printing-house, with proper workmen and large quantities of paper, which they thankfully receiv'd, and immediately set to work, having since printed a fine quarto New Testament, prayer-books, catechisms, &c. in *Portuguese* and several eastern languages and characters, for the promoting of their pious design.

To return again to *Europe*, the Printers, who first introduc'd the art into *Muscovy* about 1560, were less successful. That nation was too little friendly to learning to give it any encouragement; and even suffer'd both the printing-house and its whole apparatus to be burn'd and destroy'd, without ever enquiring after the authors of the mischief. The famous *Thevet*, historiographer to *Henry III.* of *France*, and a great traveller, gives us the following account of it: , As for the Art of Printing, they (the *Muscovites*) had not the use of it till 1560; when, it was discover'd to them by a *Russian* merchant, who bought a number of types, &c. with which many neat editions were printed. Nevertheless, as they are a very superstitious nation, and apt to raise scruples

, ples without any foundation, in which they imitate their followers of
 , the *Greek* church; some of them hir'd several fellows privately to burn
 , all their characters, apprehending that printing might make some
 , change or confusion in their religion. And yet not the least enquiry
 , or prosecution was made after this, either by the prince or his Subjects.
 But since that time they have admitted it into their metropolis of *Moscow*,
 and elsewhere in the last century, tho' they print but little, and sell
 at excessive rates.

I HAVE already hinted, that the emperor of *Ethiopia*, and monarch
 of those christians, that are commonly known by the name of *Abyssines*,
 who is falsely call'd by some writers *Prester John*, wrote a letter
 in 1521, to Don *Manuel*, king of *Portugal*, and another in 1524 to his
 successor *John III.* (which letters are to be seen in the *Hispania illustrata*,
 translated by *Paul Jovius*, tom. 2. p. 1293, 1297,) in which he desires
 those princes to send him some of the most curious artificers of *Europe*;
 and in the latter he says thus: 'I entreat you, my lord and brother, to
 , send me some workmen to carve images, to cast books, make swords
 , and all sorts of weapons; likewise masons, carpenters, physicians, sur-
 , geons, apothecaries, coiners of gold and silver, and persons who un-
 , derstand how to extract gold, silver, and copper out of the mines, to
 , cover houses with lead, to make shields and muskets; and in short,
 , all sorts of necessary workmen'. What success these letters had, and
 whether king *John* answer'd his request in any of these particulars, I
 cannot determine. But the second tome of the *Abyssine* history by *Job*
Ludolph, or rather the commentator upon it, informs us, that when
Abba Gregory Abyssin saw the library of father *Alphonso Mendez* a jesuit,
 whom the pope had sent into *Ethiopia* in quality of patriarch, in 1623,
 he could not forbear extolling that art, which had produc'd so many
 books, and esteeming it as a sacred invention, worthy to be plac'd among
 the regalia of the greatest princes (*). By this it seems, that printing had
 been wholly unknown to them at that time; and consequently that it
 was never sent thither by the king of *Portugal* or any other. However,
 our knowledge is very imperfect of those remote parts of *Africa*; and

* Existimasse Typographiam, seu sacrum haberi. Vide *Chevil.* p. 274.
 quoddam inventum, inter Regalia principum

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even of those which are nearer, as *Morocco*, *Fez*, &c. we can only say, that 'tis certain they receiv'd the art early from their neighbours, the *Spaniards* or *Portuguese*, and encourag'd it for a considerable time; yet whatever be the reason, scarce any footsteps of it now remain, if we believe Mr. *S. Olon* the *French* king's ambassador to the king of *Morocco*; who, in his present state of that empire, printed in 1694, assures us, that there is scarce one printing-house left in it. He adds, that it is a piece of religion among them not to suffer any corn, horses or books to be exported; and that their fondness for books is the greater, by reason of their scarcity, since there is hardly a press in the whole empire.

WE read of some attempts made by the missionaries in *Persia* to introduce printing there; which prov'd ineffectual. I shall say nothing here of the kingdoms of *China* and *Japan*, nor of their manner of printing, having already spoken of it upon another account in the first book of this history.

C H A P VIII.

Of the Abuses of the Art of Printing.

IT would have been very wonderful, if the encouragement, which that art receiv'd from the great and learned, should not have induc'd at the same time some persons, whose ignorance and avarice would not permit them to aim at that degree of perfection; which they saw others arrive at, to engage in base methods of enjoying the fruit of their ingenuity and diligence, without the trouble of imitating them in it. We have already given occasionally some accounts of these practices, in counterfeiting the works, names and marks of the best Printers, who have been oblig'd to remonstrate against them to the world. For as soon as they had publish'd a curious and correct edition, with prodigious charge and labour, some of these pyrates immediately printed another after it, tho' in every respect inferior to the former; and either by underselling, defrauded them of the reward of their care and expence, or by counterfeiting their names and marks, destroy'd their reputation.

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By these abuses, they were oblig'd to make many fruitless attempts in order to suppress these counterfeits, and at last to have recourse to the higher powers for priviledges and patents, the only effectual way to prevent such practices. We have likewise hinted, that some of these pests of learning have impos'd upon the world, by selling their impressions as done at *Venice* or some other famous place, or pretending they were printed *characteribus Venetianis*, with *Venetian* characters, &c. tho' they were the production of some obscure place and printer, whose only aim was profit.

ANOTHER abuse consequent upon this, was the counterfeiting of dates. For when, by the care of a *Froben*, a *Badius*, or some other eminent Printer, the world was so far appriz'd of these counterfeits, that the authors of them could not vend their impressions, they immediately reprinted the title page, perhaps with some alteration, put a new date, and sometimes a new name to it, and so pass'd them off for new editions. To recommend them the more to the buyers, they generally asserted them to be newly revis'd, diligently compared with the best MSS. corrected in above 500 places, and the like. It was with great difficulty that these abuses were detected in such a manner as to make the world aware of them. The complaints of the learned, and their vain efforts to remedy such inconveniences are too well known to be mention'd here. I shall pass to another equally shameful and dangerous abuse, *viz.* printing of leud, infamous books, of which the learned *Gerson*, among many others, complains with great zeal; and mentions particularly a romance, intitled the *Romance of the Rose*, compos'd in 1300, of which he said, that if he was the master of the last copy, he would rather choose to burn it than part with it at any price *. *Pastor fido*, is a poem almost universally known, which, we are told by *J. Nicus Erith*, caus'd many virgins and marry'd women to prostitute their honour. Yet great numbers of a much more pernicious nature have been publish'd in those times. I shall only mention one, which I esteem a master-piece in that kind, heighten'd by the art of engraving, that it might be a consummate piece of the most scandalous lewdness in nature. *George Vasari*, in the lives

* Si esset mihi Liber Romancii de Rosa, libras, comburerem potius quam venderem. qui esset unicus, & valeret mille pecuniarum

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of the *Italian* painters, gives us this short account of it; that *Julius Romanus*, the most celebrated painter of his age, invented above fourscore designs, which he caus'd to be engraven on wood, while *Peter Aretine*, a great Libertine and Atheist, compos'd a sonnet for each of the prints. This vile performance was published about the year 1525. I shall conclude with *Vasari's* character of it, * *that he knew not which was most brutish and shocking, the design of Julius to the eye, or the verses of Aretine to the ear.* This same avarice which prompted Printers to undertake such infamous works, as the foregoing, induc'd them to abuse their art in another respect, viz. in printing scandalous and defamatory libels, to the shame of their profession, and the regret of the virtuous. As printing and the reformation begun about the same time, the former was prostituted by the meaner sort, who printed the vilest forgeries on each, tho' that which was uppermost, acted most flagrantly, when the other was oblig'd to work covertly. But as this and the last do not so properly fall within my province as a Printer, I shall content myself with having just mention'd them, with abhorrence of such practices, and return to some other abuses.

THE next arose from want of good correctors; for persons of that class were thought too chargeable by many Printers; who therefore made use of illiterate fellows, whom they could hire much cheaper; or, which often happen'd, us'd none at all. It will easily be imagin'd, what a number of wretched editions the world must have been pester'd with by this sordid neglect. However, as books were not yet so plentifully propagated, as to suffice the number of students, there wanted not persons either dull or poor enough to purchase them, especially upon a small abatement of the common price. This made some Printers designedly suppress the errata, which would have inevitably endanger'd the sale of such books; tho' others were oblig'd by the authors or editors to print them at the end of their works. The reader will no doubt be surpriz'd to hear of some of them so prodigiously large, as to be scarce credible. We have a remarkable instance in the works of *John Francis Picus de Mirandula*, printed at *Strasburgh* for the first time in 1507, by *John Knob-*

* Io non so qual fusse piu o brutto le spettacolo de i disegni di Giulio all' occhio, o le

parole dell' Aretino a gl' erechi. *Vite del Pittori*, part 3. p. 302.

louch,

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louch, a man of some note, and at the charges of *Matthias Schurrer*, another eminent Printer of that place, who styl'd himself master of arts. This edition was so faulty, that the author was oblig'd to make an errata of fifteen pages in folio, tho' the book was but a thin small folio. Were I to trespass the bounds of this period, I could mention some which amounted to fourscore and eight pages, even in *Venice* itself, where *Bellarmin*, who had been very unsuccessful in the former impressions of his polemick works, sent them in order to have them more correctly printed; tho' quite the reverse happen'd. *Rome*, *Paris*, *Lyons*, &c. have been no less complain'd of upon this account. The learned *Mich. Fernus*, who with prodigious labour had collected, and revis'd the works of bishop *Campanus*, was so provok'd to see them so incorrect, that he put an errata in the edition of *Rome*, with this surprizing title at the head *; , If you have a mind to show yourself compleatly foolish, and mad, print your books at *Rome* first, &c. *Gaguinus* was not less displeas'd to see his *history of France* printed at *Paris* with such a vast number of faults, that he thought it impossible to add an errata to it. He therefore sent it to *Lyons* to be reprinted, and tells the bishop of *Mascon*, to whom he intrusted the revising of it, that he wish'd he could get all the 500 copies of the first, in order to burn them. The like complaints against the Printers, he repeats in another edition at *Paris* in 1497, and wishes these incorrect and mutilated editions could be condemn'd to perpetual oblivion. *Galatinus's* book *De Arcanis Catholicae Veritatis*, Printed at *Ortona*, by *Jerom Soncino* in 1518, was so wretchedly maim'd by the Printer, that the author inveigh'd vehemently against all Printers in general, accusing them, in his 12th book of *adulterating and corrupting the best copies, tho' ever so accurately written, in such a manner, that it is impossible to mend them*. But the Printers sufficiently reveng'd themselves on him, by reprinting, tho' long after his death, the *Pugio Fidei*, written by *Raymund Martin*, a *Dominican* fryer in 1280 against the *Jews*; in which edition they unjustly accuse *Galatinus* of having taken the best part of his book out of this; tho' *Galatinus* does ingeniously own in his preface, that he had taken the greatest part of his book

* Vix ex stulto demens, idemque ex demente insanus fieri? Libros Romae primus imprime. Corruptorum recognitio.

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out of it. *Paul Middleburgh*, a learned Dutchman of the university of *Louvain*, and afterwards bishop of *Fosembrona* in *Italy*, having wrote a Treatise about keeping Easter, which he call'd *Paulina*, gave it to a Printer of his own metropolis, nam'd *Octaviano Petrucio*, to be printed; but he committed it to the care of an *Ethiopian* youth, wholly ignorant of the business, and who probably made his first tryal upon it; so that, in spite of all the accuracy of *Posthumius* who corrected it, it was so maim'd and incorect, that the author was oblig'd to complain publickly against such ignorant and careless Printers; who (says he) in the preface to the errata of that very book, invert the letters, change and transpose whole syllables from the end of one word to the beginning of another, and put one word in the text instead of another: he might have added, that they have sometimes omitted not only words and lines, but whole paragraphs and chapters, or else misplac'd them extremely. We have in the last chapter given an account of *Rob. Stephens*, who was certainly an excellent Printer; and yet, however it happen'd, *M. Le Clerc* tells us, *Bibl. An. & Mod.* pag. 415, that he has an edition of the bible in 8vo, printed by him in a small character, containing the vulgate, and the version of *Leo Juda*, with *Vatablus's* notes, in which there is a chasm of one whole sheet, tho' the figures of the pages follow each other exactly; so that there wants from part of the 2 to half of the 11th chapter of the prophet *Zachary*. If so great a man could over look so important a mistake, what could be expected from those who valued neither their own reputation, nor that of their authors, being actuated only by the views of gain. His son *Henry Stephens* afterwards wrote a poem of about 150 *Latin* verses, entitled * *A complaint of the Art of Printing against some ignorant Printers, upon whose account it is fallen into contempt*. At the end of this, are some *Latin* and *Greek* epitaphs, in honour of the most learned Printers till that time. In this complaint he tells us, that the corruption of so many editions was entirely owing to the gross ignorance of the Printers, some of whom he knew, that could not tell the letters of their names†. The reader would in all probability

* *Querimonia Artis Typographicæ de illiteratis quibusdam Typographis propter quos in contemptum venit.*

† *Proh pudor! haud rarus numero reperitur in illo, nominis ignorans prima elementa sui.*

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be tir'd, if I should mention the tenth part of the complaints which we meet with in the writings of the greatest men of that time, against the avarice, ignorance and negligence of the Printers; some of which are so sharp as to call them *beasts and drunkards, the offspring of wild centaurs and of Vulcan's untam'd Cyclops*; but I shall choose to give some more diverting instances of their own, and their corrector's ignorance and neglect.

John Chapius tells us of a change and transposition of words, which render'd the sense wholly unintelligible, in his *Sext. Decret.* printed at *Paris* in 1510; where under the title *De dolo et contumacia*, he found these words; *Et nuntio ella cum creditur ex de appiurato parati*; instead of, *Et nuncio jurato creditur ex De Apella cum parati*. *Henry Stephens*, in his preface to his *Querimonia* just mentioned, tells us of an ignorant corrector whom he knew, who, wherever he met with the word *procos*, us'd to correct it *porcos*, and change the word *exanimare*, into *examinare*. He mentions others, who alter'd a word they understood not, for one more common and known; thus in the second epistle of the first book, *Horace* says, *Nunc adbibe puero pectore verba, puer*; but the word *adbibe* not being understood by them, they substituted that of *adbibe*, which was more obvious to them; yet even this absurd correction, is still retain'd in some more modern editions. To this, I believe, we owe another correction in the same poet, where they have chang'd *seētis unguibus*, into *striētis unguibus*; whereas, *Horace* only meant the kind fair ones par'd their nails close, when they encounter'd with the youths, least the scratches which decency and formality oblig'd them to give them when they play'd too rudely, should enter deep enough to hurt them. *Chevillier* speaks of a book printed by *Guido Mercator* at *Paris*, in 1493, in which there is a flagrant error in the very frontispiece, for the title is *Elegantiarum viginta præcepta*. It may be objected, that this was an oversight; but the contrary is plain, since it is printed so in the next leaf, and at the end of the book, *Expliciunt elegantiarum viginta præcepta Parisiis per Guidonem, &c.* so that it evidently arose from their ignorance of the *Latin* tongue. Nor is this to be wonder'd at, when *Erasmus* tells us, in his preface to the 4th edition of his *Adages* in 1525, that some of the Printers of *Rome, Venice*

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Venice and Germany, scarce knew how to read. This same author likewise wrote 10 or 11 years before this to his friend *Schurrer*, a Printer of *Strasburgh*. *John de Savigny* had been so ill us'd by these drunken and ignorant Printers, as he styles them, in a work of the learned bishop of *Gaieta*, which he publish'd in 1520, that he took the most effectual way to make them trumpeters of their own ignorance, by couching his reproaches in such terms in *Greek* and *Latin*, as were not understood by either Printer or correctors. His words are these: *In istos haud abstemios διορθώτας ἀμεσάστε βιβλιογράφους a Clitorio fonte longe remotissimos cudatur faba*. Let the blame be laid upon those drunken and illiterate Printers, who are equally remote from learning and politeness. We shall conclude this subject with one instance more. After the bishop of *Aleria* had publish'd his edition of *Pliny's* natural history, in the dedication of which he tells the pope, *that he had spent nine whole years in correcting it, tho' he believ'd nine more would scarce suffice to make a perfect edition*, *Hermolaus Barbarus* corrected almost five thousand faults in it. Several other learned men engag'd in the same province, and in particular *John Cæsareus* corrected about four thousand faults in his edition printed at *Cologne*, by *Eucharis Cervicornus*, a famous Printer of that city, in 1524, as he acquaints us in the preface. But the composer and corrector suffer'd a prodigious blunder to go uncorrected in the frontispiece of that book, wherein the reader is told, that this new edition is corrected in no less than four hundred thousand places*. 'Tis surprizing, that a book should be corrected in so many places since the last edition of it; but when the reader comes to the preface, he finds but four thousand, and the Printer put *quadringentis millibus*, instead of *quatuor millibus*.

WHEN it was found, that neither the remonstrances of the learned, nor their sarcasms continually printed against such Printers, could prevail upon them to be more diligent, and procure better correctors; several countries took methods of putting a stop to this growing evil. *Spain* was, I think, the first which shew'd the example, by a way to

* ——— opus hoc locis non paucioribus quam quadringentis millibus emaculatus atque olim, nunc demum in lucem prodire.

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make the composer and corrector more careful in their respective provinces. It was order'd, that before a book could be sold, it should be examin'd by censors appointed for that purpose, and compar'd with the manuscript; and that all the faults of the impressiion should be set down in the first least; after which they were to write underneath, that the book, the faults of the impressiion above noted excepted, was faithfully printed. This certificate had generally the following title in *Spanish*. *Esta este libro bien impresso y correto conforme a su original de mano. En Madrid, &c. sign'd N. N.* It was sometimes printed in *Latin*. Where they could not obtain such an order, they follow'd the *Spanish* method as far as they could. Thus *Jo. Ravissus Textor*, professor of rhetoric at *Paris*, made a kind of affidavit, that he had corrected all the errata of the dialogue of *Henry Hutten*, intituled *Aula*, printed at *Paris* in 1519, by *Antony Auffurd*, who put under the title-page. *Textor emaculavit.* The same method was follow'd by *Henry Stephens*, who in his edition of the *Pimander* of *Hermes Trismegistus*, printed in 1505, publish'd by *James Fabry d'Estaples*, has set down the names of the correctors in these words; *Parisiis ex officinâ Henrici Stephani, recognitoribus mendasque ex officinâ eluentibus Jacobo solido Cracoviensi & Volgatio Pratensi, anno 1505.* We could trace this method as far as the beginning of the 15th century; which had this good effect, that those books, in which the correctors had put their names, were always prefer'd to those where no mention was made of any. There were afterwards better regulations obtain'd from the higher powers in every kingdom, in order to abolish these pernicious abuses; but as they do not come within our epoch, we shall forbear mentioning them.

THE reader will excuse me, if I so far digress from my subject, as to give an instance or two of the dangerous consequences, which had like to have happen'd to two eminent writers of that age, to the one by the addition, and to the other by the subtraction of a single letter. The first is of *Erasmus*, who in his paraphrase on ch. 16, v. of *S. Matthew*, where *S. Peter* says, *Tu es Christus Filius Dei vivi*, had written, *Non suspicione proferens, sed certa & indubitata scientia profitens, illum esse Messiam a prophetis promissum, singulari more Filium Dei, &c.* by which last words he only meant, as he afterwards explain'd it, that
Christ

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Christ was the son of God after a particular manner, different from that which was common to men. But it happen'd, that in his *Basil* edition printed by *Froben*, the letter *a* being added to *more*, made it have a quite different sense. Hereupon *Noel Beda*, a famous divine of *Paris*, and enemy to *Erasmus*, fail'd not to take him to task for that expression, and charg'd him with having affirm'd, that Christ was only the son of God by adoption, and by a particular love of God towards him (*singulari amore*) and not his eternal son, &c. Soon after which, the divines of *Paris* publish'd a censure of that proposition to the following tenour; *That it gave a false sense to the words of the Evangelist, and a handle to men, to think wrong of the divinity of the Son of God, as Nestorius had done; for that Christ was not the Son of God by any particular love of God towards him, nor by any adoption or favour, but that he was originally and necessarily so.* *Erasmus* clear'd himself by saying, that it was a fault of the impression, and appeal'd to his original and former edition of the same paraphrase, in which they would find the word *more*, instead of *amore*; but he was too much suspected by those gentlemen, to be easily believ'd either in this, or any other case.

THE other happen'd to the learned Dr. *Flavigny*, author of some letters against Mr. *Jay's* polyglot, in which two learned *Maronites* had been employ'd by Mr. *Jay*, viz. *Abraham Ecbellensis*, Regius professor of *Syriac* and *Arabic*, who had given the text and *Latin* version of those two languages of the book of *Ruth*; and *Gabriel Sionita*, professor of the same languages. The former of these had committed a great many errors in his translation, as well as in the text of that book, nevertheless he attack'd his brother *Maronite*, and charg'd him with some mistakes in his part of the work. Hereupon Dr. *Flavigny*, who knew them both equally guilty, undertook to rebuke the aggressor; and in a letter to him (*Ecbellensis*), made use of these words of our Saviour; *Quid vides festucam in oculo fratris tui?* (why beholdest thou the mote in thy brother's eye?) &c. It happen'd unfortunately, that the first letter of the word *oculo* being either taken up by the balls, or dropt out of the form, or some other way lost, after the first proofs had been corrected, gave a very harsh sound to it, and made it seem a profane jesting upon that sacred book. *Ecbellensis*, in his answer, took

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took notice of this, and calls him a sacrilegious and *Jewish* perverter of the holy text; and, without acquainting him with his faults, tells him, that such an abominable correction of the text, was too foul for his pen, and only worthy the writings of a *Flavigny*; in short, he spends near a whole page in the most opprobrious language against him, that the height of malice and resentment could inspire an inveterate antagonist with. Dr. *Flavigny* was a long time before he could discover the cause of this accusation, and in all probability might have been still longer ignorant of it, had not a friend of his shew'd it to him in the printed copy; for in the two first proofs the word was printed perfect. The result was, that the author being recover'd of his surprize, threw the fault upon the corrector, appeal'd to his original, and to the two first proofs, protested his innocency and abhorrence of such an action, and took a solemn oath, in order to clear himself. *Chevillier*, who relates this story, tells us, that *Flavigny*, some time before his death, happen'd to mention this; and tho' it was above 30 years after this transaction, he could not forbear expressing the highest indignation against his Printer and corrector. These instances sufficiently demonstrate the dangerous consequences of neglect in correcting to the author of any book, especially in divinity.

BEFORE I dismiss this article of the incorrectness of the press, I cannot but mention some of the greatest Printers; who, when any of their editions have happen'd to be incorrect, have made an ingenuous confession of, and apology for it, that the commonwealth of learning might not receive any disadvantage by it, nor the authors suffer in their reputation thro' their neglect. I shall begin with *Martin Schurrer*, of *Strasburgh*, allow'd by *Erasmus* to be a person of learning, who printed in 1500 the treatise *De Patientia* of *Bapt. Mantuanus*. But as he had committed the care of it to a negligent and ignorant corrector, he found himself oblig'd to add an errata of a page and half to it, which he prefaces in the humblest terms imaginable *; I rather choose, says he, to take the shame of them upon myself, by confessing my fault, than to let the republick of learning suffer by

* *Maluimus potius pudore, nostro fatendo damno nostra peccata sint. plecti, quam tacendo respublica literarum suo*

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my concealment of it. Of this kind is the apology which the same Printer makes for the errors of impression in an edition before mentioned, viz. the works of *Picus de Mirandula*; wherein he desires the reader, * that he would not attribute those errors to the author, but to the Printer, who frankly confesses his fault. Such errata's not only make some kind of reparations to the authors, but oblige likewise an honest Printer to be more careful for the future. *Henry Stephens* hath often taken the same method, and owns, that some errors have crept unawares into some of his editions †. I should digress too far, if I should instance in all those Printers, who have follow'd so good an example; 'tis sufficient to say, that none of those eminent ones, of whom we have given an account in this whole book, have ever been ashamed of acknowledging the faults of their works, when they had any share in them. I shall close this with a pleasant way, which the abovemention'd *Stephens* took to correct a fault in his edition *De præsagiis in morbis acutis* of *Hippocrates*, anno 1512. 'Tis obvious to every scholar, that the first syllable in the word *Febris* (a fever or ague) may be either long or short; but he having thro' inadvertency spelt the word with œ, which made it absolutely long, he corrects himself for it, by saying, ‡ *That the Printer had foolishly chosen a long fever, when a short one was much more eligible, as being less dangerous.*

BUT after all that hath been said concerning the baseness, negligence, and ignorance of some of the Printers of those times, it must be own'd, that many a negligent and ignorant author, when he has been admonish'd of his errors, hath not scrupled to throw them upon the Printer and corrector; which I esteem another abuse of the Art of Printing. I could give many instances of it, were I not apprehensive of betraying too great a fondness for our profession. However, any judicious reader will easily perceive by the largest Errata's which we have mention'd, that the authors had as great a share in them as the

* *Errores chalcographis, non auctori ascribito. Fatemur ingenuè culpam nostram.*

† *Febrem longam sibi chalcographus descripsit, tametsi febris correpta sit minus periculosa.*

‡ *Locis aliquot incuria nostra aberratum est.*

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Printers and correctors. *Chevillier*, who cannot be suspected of partiality to the latter, has excus'd them in many cases, and shewn that the fault was rather to be imputed to the former. But he has furnish'd me with an instance of this, which, I believe, he little thought of; in the case of a learned divine of the university of *Paris*, whose works having been censur'd by that body, and he refusing to retract them, he was expell'd that university, but was afterwards prevail'd upon to recant. After his death a paper was publish'd in his name, in which the blame was laid upon the protestant Printers, to whom he had intrusted the work. I shall relate the story exactly after *Chevillier*, tho' somewhat abridg'd, and leave the reader to judge, whether the wrong persons were not unjustly blam'd. I hope the singularity of the fact will sufficiently excuse me, tho' it is of later date, than our prefix'd period.

René Benoist, D.D. curate of *S. Eustace* at *Paris*, made a *French* version of the bible, which he caus'd to be printed in fol. ann. 1566 by three eminent booksellers of that city. This book immediately met with many opposers, who censur'd it as heretical and erroneous, alledging, that it was only the *Geneva* translation; in which the author had soften'd those expressions which were most shocking to the Roman Catholics. The divines of that university, having met several times, agreed to censure the book, which they did accordingly, *July* 15, 1567. The same censure was renew'd, and subscrib'd to, by seventy three doctors of that faculty, and approv'd *viva voce* by above one hundred and twenty more about 7 years after. *Gregory XII.* confirm'd the censure, and condemn'd the book, by a brief dated *Nov.* 3. 1475. During this, *Benoist* absolutely refused to submit, in spite of all the endeavours of that body to persuade him to it. At length they agreed upon expelling him that university as an obstinate heretick, and the sentence of his proscription was written in great letters, and set up in the common disputation-hall of the university, by which he was, as it were, executed *in effigie*. However, *Henry IV.* took him into favour, made him his confessor, and promoted him to a bishoprick; but the Pope refus'd to grant him his bull. At last, his seniority entitling him to be chosen dean of the faculty, they all refus'd their votes, unless he would submit to their former censures, which he was at length oblig'd to do by a recantation,
in

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in which he condemns his version, and rejects some parts of it as being falsely attributed to him. This was not done till the year 1598, *i. e.* 32 years after the publication of it.

IN 1608, a little before *Benoist's* death, came out a book in 8vo, intitled, *A declaration of René Benoist, concerning his translation of the bible and annotations thereupon*; in which he declares,

, That the ground of all his sorrow was the treachery of the corrector, composer and press-man, who had been intrusted with the impression of his bible; that the copy which he had given them was a printed one (*here Chevillier notes, that it was a Geneva one,*) upon which he had made his corrections and erasements, which were not so fully eras'd, but that they might be easily read:

, THAT some of the journeymen (*they did not dare publicly to attack their masters, who would in all probability have clear'd themselves*) were of the Geneva leaven, and printed nothing in the first and second proofs but what was in his copy; but when they came to the third, which he did not see, they substituted, instead of his corrections, the words or notes, which he had eras'd (*some instances of which the author of the book gives*), and which the composer and press-man in confederacy had maliciously falsify'd:

, That it were tedious to enumerate all such pieces of treachery; but that the result of it turn'd to his reputation, notwithstanding his unsuccessful attempts to bring those journeymen to punishment:

, That his books had been sold under his name, tho' he had disown'd them:

, That the censure of the university, and the confirmation of it by the court of *Rome*, which had condemn'd the work, and not the author, was the consequence of this imposture, &c.'

I SHALL not enter into a detail of the reflections which *Chevillier* makes upon the *Calvinist* Printers, as he calls them, nor enquire whether this declamation was really penn'd by *Benoist*, or father'd upon him; or if the former, whether it might not be extorted from him, a practice not unusual with the divines of that church. I shall only observe, that, were the case as it is related in that pamphlet, 'tis scarce credible, that the doctor could have been 30 years unappris'd of it,

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especially when the censures and libels, continually publish'd against him, sufficiently pointed it out to him; and if he knew it, can it be imagin'd that he would have continued so long under all that scandal, and the persecution of his enemies, when he might have easily clear'd himself of the one, and so put a stop effectually to the other? Upon the whole, whoever the author of this declaration is, this story evidently confutes itself, and is no other than one of their pious frauds, on which 'tis not my province to animadvert, any further than the credit of our profession is concern'd.

BEFORE I close this chapter, it will be necessary to remind the reader, that this second book being wholly confin'd to the history of printing in other parts of *Europe*, (what relates to our nation being the subject of the next book,) I have given none but foreign instances of the corruptions and abuses introduced into this art.

'T IS not therefore to be concluded, that it hath been free in any case from them in *England*; since we have imitated our neighbours in these bad, as well as in their other good, examples; and therefore as these abuses have been equally common to us and them, I shall not repeat them in the *English* part, but only request the reader, once for all, to remember, that we have had our share as well in the disadvantages, under which our art has labour'd, as in the advantages and improvements, which it has receiv'd.

A P P E N D I X.

An Account of a newly discover'd Edition, printed by John Guttenberg at Stratzburg in 1458, communicated to me by, and now in the possession of, the Right Honourable the Earl of Pembroke.

THE reader may be pleased to recollect that I have, throughout the first book of this history, constantly endeavour'd to fix the glory of the invention of Printing upon *John Faust*, and that of the improvements of it upon his worthy son-in-law *Peter Scheoffer*, exclusive of *John Guttenberg*, notwithstanding the testimony of some few writers who have ascribed the first discoveries to the latter. I did likewise offer it as a probable conjecture of the ingenious Mr. *Maittair*, that *Guttenberg*, having been cast in a law-suit at *Mentz* for non-solvency of his quota, might retire to *Stratzburgh*, and there teach *John Mentel*, what he had been able to learn of *Faust's* art. We had not till then the least ground to conjecture that he ever practis'd it himself, no annalist that ever I could meet with ever mentioning, or perhaps dreaming of, any edition printed with his name. But since then the noble lord above-mention'd, unwilling to rest satisfy'd with conjectures, has spared no pains or cost to inform himself whether there was any impression extant done by *Guttenberg*, and has at length procured this curious one, which his lordship has been pleas'd to communicate to me. The reader, I doubt not, will be highly satisfy'd to find that, instead of contradicting any thing I have advanc'd upon that subject, it rather confirms it all beyond any possibility of doubting.

THE book is the dialogues of *St. Gregory* in *Latin*, it has no title-page, but begins abruptly with the subject itself, only at the end of it are these words ;

*Explicit liber quartus
Dialogorū Gregorii.*

Q q 2

Then

Then follows in red letters,

Presens hoc Op⁹ factum est per Johan.

Guttenbergium apud Argentinam,

Anno Millesimo cccclviij.

I SHALL now beg leave to make a few remarks on this curious piece, and to shew how manifestly it confirms all my former conjectures.

1. IT is very rude, and comes vastly short of those of *Faust* and *Scheoffer*; and the great and almost constant difference of the shapes of the same letters, shews it to have been done upon wooden blocks, after the manner of the *paginae conglutinae* mention'd above, pag. 49 & seq. there is, however, this difference and improvement in it, that it is not printed with the same (that is with the) common Ink, which made them incapable of a reiteration, i. e. of being printed but upon one side, but with the new invented sort, which was a mixture of oil-varnish and lamp-black, and will bear printing on both sides. This, therefore, shews that he had only got an insight into the first discovery, but was an utter stranger to the last and more useful one of separate metal-types, which *Faust* had probably kept conceal'd from him.

2. SUPPOSING it to be the first piece that ever he did, as it probably was, if not the only one of that kind, it was printed in 1458, i. e. about three years after the law-suit and his falling out with *Faust*; so that it took him up all that time in cutting his blocks, and getting the rest of the apparatus of a Printing-press, making of tryals, maculatures, &c. after he was settled at *Stratzburgh*.

3. IT is printed one year after the psalter of *Mentz*, which was done in separate metal-types, and wherein *Faust* and *Scheoffer* assume to themselves the whole glory of the invention; so that had *Guttenberg* had the least pretension to it, he would not have fail'd doing himself justice by altering the style of his colophon, and telling the world what share he had borne in this noble discovery, that his silence was not owing to his honesty is plain from his refusing to pay his dividend of the charges, much less to his being ignorant of the publication of *Faust's* psalter, because *Mentz* and *Stratzburgh* being both situate upon the *Rhine*, and not above 60 leagues asunder, it was morally impossible he should not have
heard

heard of it. On the contrary, it is likely that, having seen it, and observ'd it to be printed with fusile types, he might just finish this rude edition of his, and then stop his hand until *Mentel* and he had fallen upon the same way of casting them.

4. THIS piece is printed upon the same paper that *Faust* did use, which is mark'd with the heifer's head and horns, and might either be his share of the paper-stock which they divided at parting, and which he took away with him, or else might be designedly imitated by him, to give a credit to his work. Upon the whole, its having neither title-page, running title, signature, nor direction-word, and being altogether a rude piece of workmanship, doth plainly shew it to have been of the nature of the first essays of *Faust*, and that it is by no means antedated.

A Catalogue of some of the most eminent Persons, Authors and Editors, &c. who condescended to prepare MSS. and to correct for the Press during the 15th Century, with the Character of some of the most considerable of them.

At BASIL for JOHN AMERBACK.

1. JOHN CAPNIO, alias *Reuchlin*, an eminent lawyer, who had studied at *Paris* under the famous *John de Lapide*, doctor of *Sorbonne*, at whose request he wrote three books *de verbo mirifico*. He wrote another treatise which he entitl'd *Oculare Speculum*, for which the universities of *Cologne*, *Mentz*, *Louvain*, and *Erphord* condemn'd him of Heresy and Judaism, and made pressing instances to that of *Paris* to do the same. To prevent which, *Reuchlin* wrote to the doctors of *Sorbonne*, and reminded them, that he had been *Lapidanus's* disciple, and that the university of *Paris* was his dear mother: but, as all his rhetorick could not prevent his book being censur'd by the *Paris* divines, he calls her afterwards an unnatural step-mother. He was one of the most diligent promoters of the study of *Hebrew*, of which himself was a good master, tho' he did not learn it of *Lapidanus*, as some have imagin'd,

but

but from a *Jewish* rabbi, call'd *Jacob Jebiel Loans*, to whom therefore he directs a letter inscrib'd as follows, *Johannes Reuchlin præceptori suo Jacobo Jebiel Loans Judæo, &c.* it is likely, therefore, that after his squabble with those universities he retir'd to *Basil*, where he became corrector to the great *Amerback*, who was himself a very learned man, and had taken his degrees of master of arts in the university of *Paris*. *Vide pag. 218.*

2. JOHN CONN. CONUS, a native of *Nurembergh*, famous for his skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues.

3. AUGUSTIN DODO, a learned canon of *Basil*, who, dying of the plague in 1513, was succeeded by

4. FRANCIS WILER, a learned franciscan.

5. CONRARD PELICAN, an eminent divine, and

6. BEATUS RHENANUS.

For JOHN FROBEN, *ibid.*

1. PETER CASTELLANUS.

2. SIGISMUND GELENIUS.

3. MARK HEILAND.

4. DES. ERASMUS of *Rotterdam*.

5. WOLFGANG MUSCULUS.

6. JOHN OECOLAMPADIUS.

7. WOLFGANG LACHNER.

ALL these are sufficiently known to the learned, especially the 4th, 5th, and 6th.

At BOLONIA.

BENEDICT HECTOR and both eminent and learned, who printed *PLATO DEI BENEDETI*, § and corrected their own works.

At BRESCIA for BONINO DE BONINIS.

MARCUS SCARAMUCCINUS, a native of *Palazolo* in the territories of *Brescia*.

For

For JAMES and ANGEL BRITANNICI, *ibid.*

ANGELUS DE MONTELMO, a learned franciscan.

At FLORENCE.

DEMETRIUS CALCONDILLA, a native of *Milan*, printed and corrected that noble and beautiful edition of *Homer's* works, fol. in 1480, of which I have given an account above, pag. 196. He corrected many other *Greek* and *Latin* works, and at length went and set up a press in his own native city, where he continued printing and correcting for himself.

For FRANC. LAURENCE *de ALOPA*, *ibid.*

JOHN ANDREAS LASCARIS, a famous critick in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. He was descended from an illustrious family in *Greece*, which gave birth to three *Greek* emperors. After the taking of *Constantinople* by the *Turks*, he retired into *Italy*, and some time after went into *France*, whence he was sent ambassador to the republick of *Venice* by *Lewis XII.* As he was thoroughly versed in all the antient authors of his own nation, he spared no pains to procure the best manuscripts from thence, to compare, correct, and fit them either for the Press, or for translating into *Latin*. He was in such credit with *Francis I.* that *Genebrard* tells us, that he and the great *Budæus* persuaded that monarch to erect that noble library in his own palace of *Fontainbleau*, and to found a college at *Paris* for the royal professors in the learned languages. He is also supposed to have been the corrector, if not the editor, of that noble edition of *Avicen*, which was printed at *Lyons* by *Trechsel* and *Clean* in 1498, in 3 vol. fol. to which he prefixed a dedication to Dr. *Ponceau* the king's physician. *Erasmus* thinks it a kind of miracle that any *Greeks* should ever become such masters of the *Latin* tongue as he and his two countrymen *Marcus Musurus*, of whom we shall speak by and by, and *Theodore Gaza* proved.

At

At LYONS for JOHN TRECHSEL.

THE famous *Jodocus Badius*, surnamed *Ascensius*, who became afterwards one of the most eminent Printers.

At MILAN for ANTONY ZAROT.

PETER JUSTINUS PHILELPHUS.

For LEONARD PACHEL, ibid.

BENEDICT, surnamed *Rhetoricus*.

At NAPLES for MATT. MORAVIUS.

JUNIANUS MAJO, professor of grammar and rhetoric.

At NUREMBERG for ANT. COBURGER.

THE learned *Frederick Pistorius*.

At PARIS for ULRICK GERING and his two Associates.

JOHN LAPIDANUS, or a *Lapide*, doctor of *Sorbonne*, and a great promoter of learning. *Vide supra pag. 166, & seq.*

WILLIAM FITCHET, a native of *Aulney* in *Normandy*; he was doctor of divinity, and fellow of the college of *Sorbonne*. *Vide supra ib.*

ERHARD WINDSBERGH, doctor of physick in the university of *Paris*.

For ULRICK GERING and BERTOLD REMBOLT, ibid.

THE learned *John Capuis*, editor of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, with the gloss, short notes, index, &c. printed by *Gering* and his associate in 3 vol. fol. in 1501. This was a most elaborate and expensive work, every page being charged with letters ranked in five or six columns, and mix'd with red and black. This edition was so highly liked, that it was presently sold off, and a new one of a smaller size came out soon after.

At

At ROME for CONRAD SWEYNHEYM and
ARNOLD PANNARTZ.

1. JOHN ANDREAS, bishop of *Valeria*, and library-keeper to pope *Sixtus IV.* He wrote some learned comments on the IVth, Vth, and VIth book of decretals, and gave the world the first edition of *Pliny's* natural history, in correcting of which he had spent nine whole years. We have likewise a volume of his letters which are very curious, and the book itself scarce. His province was to furnish these two *German* Printers with the most valuable manuscripts out of the *Vatican* and other libraries, to compare, correct, and prepare for the press, and then to revise the sheets as fast as they came out. All which he perform'd with indefatigable application. *Vide supra pag. 123, &c.* He dy'd in 1470, and was succeeded by

2. BARTHOLOMEW (by others call'd *Baptist*) *Platina*, famous for his history of the popes.

For ULRICK HAN or GALLUS, *ibid.*

1. JOHN ANTONY CAMPANUS, bishop of *Teramo*. This prelate undertook the same province for *Han* that the bishop of *Valeria* did for *Sweynheym* and *Pannartz*, viz. to procure, correct, and prepare for the press, and to revise the proofs. He was also at the pains and charges of collecting the *Latin* translations of *Plutarch's* lives, which till then did lay dispers'd, and by pieces among other manuscripts; and publish'd the first edition of it in two vol. fol. it has neither date, place, or Printer's name, and is dedicated by *Campanus* to Cardinal *Piccolomini*. In all these provinces he was so diligent and assiduous that he scarce allow'd himself time to eat, and not above three hours to sleep. He dy'd in 1477, in the 50th year of his age, and was succeeded by

2. CHARLES *de Alexandris*.

For EUCHARIUS SILBER, *ibid.*

1. BARTHOLOMEW *de Salicetis.*
2. LUDOVICUS *de Regiis.*
3. MICHEL FERN, surnamed *Archipoeta*, editor of bishop Campanus's works, and a severe satyrift against careless and incorrect Printers, plagiaries, &c.

For GEORGE LAVER, *ibid.*

1. CELESTINE PULVERINUS.
2. POMPONIUS.

At TREVISO for MICH. MANZOLI *al.* MANZOLINI.
JEROME BONINI.

For BARTHOLOM. CONSOLONERI, *ibid.*

BARTHOLOMEW PEROT.

At VENICE for NICOLAS JENSON.

OMNIBONUS LAODICENUS, a native of *Vincentia*, famous for his learned comments upon several antient authors. He revised and corrected some of Cicero's works, as likewise *Quintiliani Oratoriarum Institutionum libri*, fol. which were printed by Jenson in 1471, with this colophon, *Quintilianum Eloquentiæ fontem ab eruditissimo Omnibono Laodiceno emendatum, M. Nicolaus Jenson miro impressit artificio, &c.*

For VINDELIN de SPIRA, *ibid.*

GEORGIUS ALEXANDRINUS, &
CHRISTOPHORUS BERARDUS *de Pesaro.*

For

For CHRISTOPHER WARDAFFER, ibid.

THE famous *Ludovicus Carbo*, who is said to have corrected his proofs with red ink, from which one might be led to conclude that they had not yet got the method of writing their corrections on the margin of the proof.

For BERNARD PICTOR and ERHARD RADOLT, ibid.

PETER LOSLEIN *de Langencen*, who, from being their corrector, became their partner, and afterwards set up a Printing-house of his own.

For ANTONY della STRADA, ibid.

VICTOR PISANUS.

For PETER VERONENSIS, ibid.

JEROME CENTONE of *Padua*.

For PHILIP PINCI, ibid.

BENEDICT BRUGNOLI, famed for his great skill in the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues.

For ALD. P. MANUCIUS, ibid.

1. PETER ALCION.
2. DEMETRIUS CALCONDILLA, mentioned above.
3. ALEXANDER BANDINUS.
4. BENEDICT TYRENUS, and
5. MARCUS MUSURUS, who was a native of *Candia*, and became a famous professor of the *Greek* and *Latin* tongues in the university of *Padua*, and for his great learning and merit was afterwards made bishop of *Ragufium*. We have already mention'd what *Erasmus* said of him and his Countrymen *Lascharis* and *Theod. Gaza*, concerning their great skill in *Greek* and *Latin*; to which *Beat. Rhenanus* adds in his *Vita E-*

[q q 2 *]

rasmi,

rasmi, that he was a man of such extensive reading and profound erudition, that there was nothing so obscure and intricate which he could not render plain and easy by his eloquence. *Ald. Manucius* doth likewise commend him very highly not only for his vast learning, but also for his indefatigable diligence and accuracy in comparing and correcting antient manuscripts, both *Greek* and *Latin*, and fitting them for the press. Upon which account the care and correction of that noble edition of the *Etymologicon Magnum*, printed at *Venice* by *Zachary Caliergius* in 1499, was committed to him.

For BENET LOCATELLI, *ibid.*

MAURICIUS *de Hibernia*, afterwards bishop of *Tuamo*.

At VINCENTIA, for HERMAN LEVILAPIS.

AENEAS WOLPIUS, prior of the convent of the Holy Cross.

I HAVE only mention'd some of the most famous for their learning and diligence, besides whom there were many more, who, tho' of an inferior class, in comparison of the former; yet were all men of letters, and vastly superior to those, which Printers have been forced to make use of in process of time. It must be also remember'd, that many of those Printers of the 15th, and part of the 16th century, were men of great learning and parts, and indefatigable industry, able to prepare their manuscripts for the press, and to correct their own works: Such were the great *Amerback* at *Basil*, who was master of arts in the university of *Paris*, *Froben* his worthy partner and successor, *Ant. Coburger* at *Nurembergh*, *Aldus Manucius* and *Azulanus* at *Venice*, *Jodocus Badius* at *Lyons* and *Paris*, and many more, of whom we have given an account in this history. And yet it is observable from this table, that those, who were the most capable of correcting their own works, did still entertain the greatest number of correctors.

HOWEVER, I must not omit acquainting the readers, that those great persons whom we have mention'd in this list, were not properly correctors in the sense we now understand that word; that is, men retain'd

tain'd by a proper salary to perform that function, but editors or authors, and correctors only of their own works; or if at any time they were prevail'd upon to oversee any curious edition, it was done rather out of curiosity than for gain. For 'tis certain that every Printer had besides a corrector of an inferior rank to revise and correct every proof, if he did not do it himself, before they were sent to those great men, whose corrections were generally of a higher nature. What makes me mention this distinction, is the grief which the famous *Erasmus* conceiv'd at his being upbraided by count *Carpi*, and more particularly by *Jul. Scaliger*, with having serv'd as corrector in *Aldus's* Printing-house, and the pains he took to clear himself from that imputation. Every body knows that *Erasmus* had ventur'd to print a dialogue, entitled *Ciceronianus*, in which he endeavour'd to shew that *Cicero* was more cry'd up than he deserv'd; at which *Scaliger* was so enraged, that he wrote a vindication of that great master of eloquence in two different orations, which he soon after printed. In the last of which he addresses himself to *Erasmus* in words to this effect; *Did not you get a livelihood by correcting Aldus's proofs? and were not those errata we meet with in them more owing to your drunken carelessness than to the Printer? do they not smell stronger of your drunken cups than of the composer's dulness?* He afterwards affirm'd that he met with *Aldus* one day at *Mantua*, who told him that *Erasmus* was wont to dispatch as much business in one day as other correctors did in two, and to solace himself the rest of the time with drinking of good *Malmsey* wine. *Erasmus* was so gall'd at this oration, that, as *Merula* tells us, he bought and burnt all the copies he could possibly get of it, and that he succeeded so well that there was not one to be met with. However, in his answer to count *Carpi*, he says that he was so far from correcting for *Aldus*, unless it were his own works, that he refused that office to some eminent cardinals who desired him to revise the last proofs of some works then printing: that if he took any thing else in hand, whilst he staid at *Venice*, it was not for lucre, but out of curiosity; and acquaints us, that *Aldus* had a constant corrector to his press named *Seraphim*, and then adds, *Can he be call'd a servant who revises only his own works? for I never did any thing else for Aldus, whose Printing-house I used only for my conveniency.* He has likewise been
sup-

supposed to have corrected for *Theodore Martin* at *Louvain*, but it is likely that it was in the same manner, and on the same foot as he did it at *Venice*. I had not dwelt so long on this nice distinction, were it not that those annalists, who have mention'd these great and learned men as correctors, have not sufficiently taken notice of it. Besides, it ought to be consider'd that there is a vast difference between Printing and correcting the works of antient authors after a number of manuscripts, which have been mutilated and spoil'd by every hand through which they pass'd; and Printing the works of a modern author after his own manuscript-copy, who is at hand either to revise it, or to be consulted upon any difficulty. The former province requires persons of the greatest learning, abilities, and most indefatigable application, in reading and comparing their manuscripts, in order to distinguish between the genuine meaning of an author and the blunders of his transcribers; whereas the latter may be supply'd by a person of moderate parts and industry. As therefore, they have been the greatest promoters of learning, I hope the reader will not blame me, if I have endeavour'd to do them all possible justice, and to distinguish them from those lazy and ignorant ones who have been, and are still, justly reckon'd the common pests of it.

The End of the Second Book.

THE EDITOR to the READER.

SOON after Mr. Palmer's death, I was desired to see what was still wanting to compleat his History of Printing, according to his first proposal, and what materials he had left behind. I found, upon enquiry, that five sheets of this last Number were already printed off; but that the third sheet in course, viz. Q q, was left unfinish'd, being partly compos'd, and partly in manuscript, most likely in expectation of that curious edition which

The Editor to the Reader.

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the R. H. the Earl of Pembroke was then in search after, which has been mention'd in the Appendix to this second Book; and this seems to have been the cause of his delaying this last Number so long, that his last sickness prevented his publishing it.

*The reader will, no doubt, be as much surpris'd as I was myself, at finding the last page of the second book and the first of the third book so differently numbred; and that there is a retrogression from 312 to 121: but, as the signatures of each sheet do follow in their regular course, I am fully persuaded that it must have been an oversight either of the compositor or of the author, which we hope the reader will easily forgive, especially considering that there is not any thing wanting to compleat this second book; and that the materials he left behind do even exceed his computation for filling this suspended sheet. However, as there were but three sheets thus mis-number'd, having been printed off long before the author's death, I have ventured to set all the remaining ones in their due order, to avoid the confusion that would otherwise unavoidably happen in the Index; and hope the reader will be kind enough to do the same with his pen to these three following sheets. Those, who know what a tedious sickness Mr. Palmer did labour under during the last two years of his life, will pass by so inconsiderable an oversight, in consideration of what he has done when he enjoy'd a better state of health. As for the rest of this History, we hope to find the materials in so good an order, that there will be little to do but to print after his manuscript, excepting where the noble Lord above-mention'd, or some of his learned correspondents, have communicated some new discoveries too curious to be pass'd by. And this furnishes me with an opportunity of adding a new authority to what has been before advanc'd, concerning the first invention of Printing by John Faust at Mentz, omitted by Mr. Palmer, and since communicated to me by an ingenious friend of his. It is a paragraph extract'd out of Fox's book of martyrs, printed in 1537, page 837, wherein that learned author gives an account of the first discovery of that art, in all the main particulars exactly agreeable to what has been advanc'd in the first part of this History, and is to this purpose; That about the year 1440, or, as others affirm, 1446 and 1450, one John Faust of Stratzburg, and since a citizen of Mentz, found out the way of Printing by engraving upon metals, and by degrees improv'd it to cutting of single words, and at length
single*

single letters: that, after some essays, he communicated his discovery to John Guttenberg and Peter Scheoffer; and these three, being first sworn to inviolable secrecy, made some considerable improvements in it: that Guttenberg did at length, with John Mentel, publish the art at Stratzburg, which was soon after brought to greater perfection by some eminent Printers in other places; and in particular by Ulrick Han, or Gallus, at Rome, &c. From this short account it is plain that our English author had his intelligence from much better hands than many of the writers that have been quoted on that subject; and it is no small pity that he, who has so exactly informed himself with what had been done at Mentz, had not given us also an account of the introduction and progress of the art here in England, we might then have found a much more satisfactory account of it, than the reader will find in the next book from all that Mr. Palmer could possibly procure from other authors and records. However, as to this testimony, I doubt not but he would have been glad to have given it an honourable place in his first book, had he been apprised of it; but it is not much to be wonder'd at, that a book of martyrs should be one of the last pieces of history wherein one would have look'd for it. What Dr. Fox says of their cutting or engraving upon metal, and not upon wood, as Mr. Palmer and others have since more truly affirmed, can be only look'd upon as a pardonable mistake in the former, who could not be expected to be a judge of things of this nature; whereas, what the latter advances may be surely rely'd on, not only because it was in his own province, and that he neither wanted opportunities, nor spared any pains to inform himself aright in all those curious particulars, but also because his modesty would not suffer him to rely upon his own judgment, till he had it confirm'd by other eminent masters in the art of Printing, letter-cutting, &c.

G. P.

BOOK



B O O K I I I .
O F
E N G L I S H P R I N T I N G
A N D
P R I N T E R S .

C H A P . I .

Of the Art's being first brought to England.

LL our *English* historians and chroniclers, who have touch'd on this subject before *Richard Atkins*, viz. *Stowe*, *Baker*, *Howel*, &c. have proceeded only upon conjecture or common and fallacious reports; or perhaps the first of these forementioned authors led the rest into these mistakes, that printing was not invented till the year 1459, nor brought into *England* till anno

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1471;

1471; that at the *Abbey of Westminster* the first presses were set up; that *Dr Islip*, *Abbot of Westminster*, first introduc'd the art into *England*; and that *England* had it at least 10 years before any other city of *Europe*, except *Mentz* and *Harlem*. The falsity of several of these particulars, sufficiently appears from the first book of this history; and the others are manifestly disprov'd since I have seen a book in the *Earl of Pembroke's* library, printed at the university of *Oxford*, anno 1468. However, their mistakes were unavoidable in those times; because they were ignorant of several material particulars, and of the first editions, which were absolutely necessary to determine the true periods of the invention and introduction of the art into *England*.

BUT in 1664, *Richard Atkins*, Esq; publish'd an account of the foremention'd edition and an old manuscript chronicle, preserv'd at *Lambeth* in the archbishop's palace, in his *Original and Growth of Printing*, printed by order of the right honourable Mr. *Morrice* secretary of state. The design of this book, which is little more than an invective against the *Company of Stationers*, is to prove that printing is a branch of the royal *Prerogative*, and a flower of the *English Crown*. This chronicle however, of which a friend of his, whom he does not name, sent him a copy, is far from being of undoubted authority, since it is liable to these exceptions. 1. That neither *Atkins* nor his nameless friend pretend to have seen the original, much less to have compar'd the copy with it. 2. They give no account when and by whom this chronicle was written, and how it was bequeath'd to the *Lambeth* library. 3. No author, that I know of, besides *Atkins*, mentions this chronicle in *Lambeth* library, except those who quote it from him; tho' that author hop'd that his book would occasion the discovery and publication of it in time for publick satisfaction, p. 4. 4. It is not to be found there now; for the *Earl of Pembroke* assur'd me, that he employ'd a person for some time to search for it, but in vain. 5. It gives an account of some particulars, altogether inconsistent with the more authentic accounts, which we are now masters of, with respect to the circumstances of the first discovery of the art; so that we may suppose, that whoever the author was, he has taken some part of his account from common report, and from the *Dutch*, who have laid claim to this invention. I might add, that *Atkins* has so interspers'd

terspers'd the chronicles account with his own observations, that it is very difficult to distinguish them exactly. However, imperfect and precarious as it is, since it gives us the most probable and clear account of this important affair, I shall here set it down, as I find it in the author abovemention'd; after which I shall endeavour, by reconciling some inconsistencies in it, explaining several particulars, and adding some necessary remarks upon the whole, to lead the reader, if not to a certain, at least to the most probable account of this matter.

The chronicle is as follows.

Thomas Bourcher archbishop of Canterbury, mov'd the then King [Henry 6th.] to use all possible means for procuring a mold (for so 'twas then call'd) to be brought into this kingdom; the king (a good man, and much given to works of this nature) readily hearken'd to the motion; and taking private advice, how to effect this design, concluded it could not be brought about without great secrecy, and a considerable sum of money given to such person or persons, as would draw off some of the workmen from Harlem in Holland, where John Guthenberg had newly invented it, and was himself personally at work. 'Twas resolv'd that less than one thousand marks would not produce the desired effect; towards which sum, the archbishop presented the king with three hundred marks. The money being now prepar'd, the management of the design was committed to Mr. Robert Turnour, who then was of the robes to the king, and a person most in favour with him, of any of his condition. Mr. Turnour took to his assistance Mr. Caxton, a citizen of good abilities, who trading much into Holland, might be a creditable pretence, as well for his going, as stay in the Low Countries. Mr. Turnour was in disguise (his beard and hair quite shaven off;) but Mr. Caxton appear'd known and publick. They having receiv'd the said sum of one thousand marks, went first to Amsterdam, then to Leyden, not daring to enter Harlem itself; for the town was very jealous, having imprison'd and apprehended divers persons, who came from other parts for the same purpose. They stay'd till they had spent the whole one thousand marks in gifts and expences; so as the king was fain to send five hundred marks more; Mr. Turnour having written to the king, that he had almost done his work; a bargain (as he said) being struck between him and two Hollanders, for bringing off one of the workmen, who should sufficiently discover and teach this new art. At last with much ado they got

off one of the under workmen, whose name was Frederick Corfells (or rather Corfellis), who late one night stole from his fellows in disguise into a vessel, prepar'd before for that purpose, and so the wind (favouring the design) brought him safe to London.

'Twas not thought so prudent to set him on work at London, but by the archbishop's means, who had been vice-chancellor, and afterwards chancellor of the university of Oxon, Corfellis was carry'd with a strong guard to Oxon; which guard constantly watch'd to prevent Corfellis from any possible escape, till he had made good his promise, in teaching how to print: so that at Oxford, printing was first set up in England; which was before there was any printing-press or printer in France, Spain, Italy or Germany, except the city of Mentz, which claims seniority as to printing even of Harlem itself, calling herself *Urbem Moguntinam Artis Typographicæ inventricem primam*; tho' 'tis known to be otherwise, that city gaining that art by the brother of one of the workmen of Harlem, who had learn'd it at home of his brother, and after set up for himself at Mentz.

This press at Oxon was at least ten years before there was any printing in Europe, (except at Harlem and Mentz), where also it was but new born. This press at Oxford was afterwards found inconvenient to be the sole printing place of England, as being too far from London, and the Sea: whereupon the king set up a press at St. Albans, and another in the Abby of Westminster, where they printed several books of divinity and Physick; for the King, for reasons best known to himself and council, permitted then no law-books to be printed, nor did any Printer exercise that art, but only such as were the king's sworn servants; the king himself having the price and emolument for printing books.

THUS far the chronicle, or our author's extract from it; for, as I observ'd before, he distinguishes not his own from the chronicle, nor acquaints us whether it be literally copied from the chronicle, or an abstract of it; nor whether it mentions any other transactions besides that of bringing printing to *England*. I shall therefore follow him no further, at present, but examine the truth of the several particulars of this account; yet previous to this, I shall observe, that we have the like account of this affair in Antony Wood's *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, printed in 1674, i. e. ten years after Atkins had publish'd his piece; from

from which the foremention'd author seems to have taken his account wholly; in many particulars, of which he has been confuted by several writers, as shall be shewn immediately. To return to *Atkins's* book; which is unknown to foreigners, and seen but by few in *England*; the author of that chronicle is mistaken in several points; 1. in supposing *Harlem* or *Harlein*, as he calls it, to be the place from whence *Corsellis* came: It is not probable, that the art was invented there, especially by *Guttenbergh*, and in the year 1459, since it appears, the psalter was printed at *Mentz* by *Faust* two years before that, besides the several books printed on wooden blocks. Again, if the book mention'd by *Atkins* and *Wood* to have been printed at *Oxford*, anno 1468, be the first book printed there, 'tis plain, that city had not the art ten years before any other; because I have lately seen a book printed at *Strasburg* by *John Guttenbergh*, in 1458, as I have already hinted in the postscript of the foregoing number; besides *Strasburg*, it was at *Venice*, the monastery of *Sublaco*, *Ausburgh*, *Rome* and *France* before 1468. If it be urg'd, that there might be other books printed before that at *Oxford*, or that it requir'd some time to get all the necessary materials of a printing-house; the same pleas will equally serve for those other places now mention'd. Lastly, if we admit *Guttenbergh* to have carried the art to *Holland*, which we shall shew hereafter to be extremely probable, it will be still false, that *Mentz* receiv'd it from the brother of one of his workmen. These are the inconsistencies and contradictions to plain facts, now certainly known, which derogate from the authority of this chronicle and of those that follow it. We shall now endeavour to clear these inconsistencies; or at least to shew how the author of it was led into these palpable errors, and from thence to discover the real truth of the whole transaction.

WE have already hinted at the probability, that he rather followed the reports spread about from *Holland*, than made a strict enquiry into this subject. This will appear more plain from the following considerations. 1. We hinted in our 1st book, that during the infancy of the art, *Faust* and *Schoeffer*, and together with them *Guttenbergh*, carry'd on the business with all possible secrecy, till the former being oblig'd to discover it at *Paris* for his own safety, and the latter having broke the partnership, and gone to set up the art elsewhere; it was thought of no further

further use to conceal this invention. 2. The reader may call to mind that we advanc'd a probable conjecture of Mr. *Mattaire's*, that *Guttenbergh* being cast at law, and sentenc'd to reimburse his moiety, and pay the charges of the suit, went away to *Strasburgh* to evade the sentence, which is now confirm'd by the book printed there just now mentioned; where not thinking himself safe from further prosecution, he might really come down to *Harlem*, and there instruct *Coster*, or some others in the art. This seems to be more than probable, not only from the chronicle's mentioning *Guttenbergh*, and not *Coster*, as inventor of the art, but likewise from his dating the invention nine years later than it was discover'd; which must be ascrib'd to its not having been known at *Harlem* till the year 1459, tho' it had been practis'd at *Mentz* from the year 1450, or soon after, as has been sufficiently shewn before.

AGAIN, if we consider that *Holland* and the *Low-Countries* were the only places of *Germany*, into which we traded, whereas the city of *Mentz*, which lies very far in the continent, was then little known to us, we shall not wonder, that our first accounts of the original of printing, should be taken from the *Dutch*, agreeable to their violent claims to the invention of it, and their scandalous stories invented to deprive *Faust* of his discovery; for the chronicle acquaints us, that the city receiv'd it from a fugitive servant of *Guttenbergh*, who had learn'd it from his brother then working with him, and went to set it up there. There remains one single difficulty still; why the chronicle attributes the invention to *Guttenbergh*, when all their writers make no mention of him, but ascribe it wholly to their countryman *Coster*. To solve this, if we suppose this account given to the author by *Frederick Corfellis*, or even by Mr. *Caxton* or *Turnour*, which is very probable; we may justly presume, that they spoke as they were inform'd on the spot, agreeably to the account which *Guttenbergh* gave of himself and of his invention, which the *Dutch* dar'd not to contradict, till after his death or departure from *Holland*, when they assum'd the whole discovery to themselves, and represented *Coster* as the sole inventor, exclusive of every other pretension. I have dwelt longer on these circumstances, because they notoriously demonstrate, that those contradictions to plain facts, universally known and assented to by all but the *Dutch* writers, confirm the authority of the rest of

of the chronicle; since they are exactly drawn from the legends of that nation, which were then generally believ'd over all the *Low-Countries*, and were the only accounts that our merchants, and particularly the two gentlemen employ'd by the king, could procure concerning the original of printing. And 'tis not improbable that what the chronicle mentions of the imprisonment of several persons at *Harlem*, on suspicion of a design to steal the art, might be done rather out of fear least any of those strangers should rob them of their honour by exposing the vanity of their pretensions; since themselves could not be ignorant of what was done at *Mentz* long before that time.

BEFORE I dismiss this chronicle, which, as I observ'd, was unknown till Mr. *Atkins* publish'd it, I shall give an account, which I found in a manuscript now in my possession, which seems to be much older than the year 1664, when Mr. *Atkins* publish'd his account, and which, a few Circumstances excepted, entirely agrees with that of the chronicle. The part relating to the introducing of printing into *England* being very short, I believe will be acceptable to the reader, and is as follows.

The rise and progress of printing in England.

The art of printing was first brought into England in the time of Hen. vi. at the charges of the archbishop of Canterbury (Bourchier,) who employ'd one Turner master of the robes to the king, and one Mr. Caxton a mercer of London, but using the trade of a merchant, to go to *Harlem* to endeavour to bring over some of the workmen, that had then newly practis'd the art there, who prevail'd upon some of the under-workmen to come over with them into England, and to teach them their trade. As soon as they were landed, they were convey'd under a guard to the university of Oxford for fear they should run back again; and there they set up a press about the year 1467, as appears by several books that were printed there about that time. The names of those workmen were Rood an Almayn (or German) and Winken de Worde; and the charges of the journey cost the archbishop 1500 marks, as appears by several papers and memorials relating to this matter, that are still extant in the library at Lambeth. Shortly after there was a press set up at the Abbey of St. Albans, which continued till the dissolution, &c.

THE remainder being foreign to this chapter, shall be communicated in some of the following, to which it more properly belongs. I need not observe that this manuscript ascribes all the honour of this transaction to
the

the archbishops; whereas the chronicle assures us that the king contributed the greatest sum towards it. The date mention'd in my manuscript is a year before the *Oxford* edition came out.

It may be here objected that the year 1467 cannot bring it within the reign of *Henry VI.* who had been depos'd six years before; but I answer that the manuscript does not assert that the *Dutch* printers came not into *England* till that year, but that their press was not set up till then; and tho' this happen'd in another reign, yet it will still be true that king *Henry* caus'd them to be brought over, whilst he was upon the throne, tho' the civil wars, and his being depos'd, put a stop to their proceedings for six or seven years. We shall have occasion to remark further upon this in the next chapter. As for its complementing the archbishop with having been at the whole expence of the journey; it may be ascrib'd to want of better information, or partiality to that prelate, who might still be in great esteem under king *Edward*; whilst the good king *Henry* was strip'd of the royal dignity and wholly neglected. With respect to the two printers mention'd there; the first is probably the same, *Theodoric Rood*, who printed afterwards by himself, and of whom we have but two editions printed at *Oxford* in 1480, and 1481, of which we shall give a further account in the next chapter. Whether he came along with *Corfellis* as an under-workman, is difficult to determine,

I am of opinion that *Winken de Worde* came not to *England* till some years after; tho' he might easily be confounded by the author of the *M. S.* with the other, on account of his *Dutch* name, and of his having signaliz'd himself afterwards by the number and elegance of his editions, which he printed both under *Caxton* and by himself. Thus 'tis plain that the few records, which we have, agree in the following particulars; that archbishop *Bourchier* solicited king *Henry VI.* to procure the establishment of the art of printing in this kingdom; that the king not only consented, but contributed largely to it; that *Turner* and *Caxton* were employ'd in this design; that it cost 1500 marks to execute it; that it was happily effected during the reign of *Henry VI.* i. e. before the year 1461, since in the beginning of that year he was depos'd by *Edward IV.* and lastly, that *Oxford* was fix'd upon by the king and Archbishop to set up the first press in, and make the first essays of this art; which city therefore shall be the subject of our next chapter.

C H A P. II.

Printing at Oxford by Frederic Corfellis.

SOME *English* authors, and particularly Mr. *Howel*, are of opinion, that the first trials of this art were made in the *Ambry* belonging to *Westminster-Abby*, where Mr. *Caxton* afterwards carry'd on the business with good success for a considerable time; as shall be related in its place. But as they affirm this upon the supposition, that the Abbot of that place, [*Islip*], was the person, who procur'd the art to be brought to *England*; whereas the chronicle abovemention'd, which they knew nothing of, asserts the contrary; in both these respects, I think it more reasonable to follow it, than those writers: nor indeed is it probable, that any but a crown'd head, or some persons employ'd by him, would venture upon such a dangerous project. Besides, this account of the chronicle is confirm'd by the edition of 1468, mention'd in the preceding chapter, of which we shall speak more fully hereafter: for tho' this comes short in date of the last year of *Henry VI*, by seven or eight years, yet it is older by at least as many, than any impression of *Caxton's* at *Westminster*, as far as has been yet discover'd. Add to this, that according to their Supposition, that Mr. *Caxton* learn'd the art from the workman brought over from *Holland*, we must necessarily suppose the latter to have made several essays, and printed a volume or two at least, before the former could be perfect enough in it to engage in that province. But I am far from thinking, that *Caxton* either learn'd the art from him, or even came over to *England* with him; since 'tis much more probable, that he dispatch'd Mr. *Turnour* with *Corfellis* thither, and carried on his commerce as well as his studies beyond sea. I am inclin'd to this opinion, by a passage in the preface to the second book of his *history of Troy*, which he tells us he translated from the *French* at the desire of the *Dutchess of Burgundy*, the King's sister; which translation, he says, he began at *Bruges*, anno 1468, continued at *Gaunt*, and finish'd at *Cologne*, anno a thousand four hundred lxxi. Hence 'tis plain, that he was still travelling in *Flanders* and *Germany*

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three years after the first edition printed by *Corfellis* at *Oxford*: nor does it appear, that *Caxton* came presently after to *England*, but stay'd to write a third book in the last mention'd place, *Cologne*, as he informs us in these words; „*The third book of the destruction of Troy* ——— *I have now*
„ *good leyzer in Cologne* ——— *I have delibered in my self beyng*
„ ——— *to take thislaboure in hand*“. 'Tis unreasonable to imagine, that a man of his years, (of which he complains in the same preface, saying, that *age crept on him daily and feeble'd all the body*,) should come along with the *Dutch* Printer, and learn the art from him, and then go travelling again, having one book to translate, and another to write, viz. his *Fruits of Time*. I am of opinion therefore, that he learn'd the art, at least got a good insight into it abroad, and perhaps at *Cologne*; tho' he might make himself master of the practical part of it after his return into *England*.

THUS far therefore 'tis plain, that *Caxton* had been on his travels some time, when *Corfellis* printed that first edition at *Oxford*; that the latter was the first Printer in *England*; and that *Oxford* was the place, where the first press was set up. The chronicle gives these reasons why that Printer was sent thither; 1. Because it was an inland town, out of which it would be less possible for him to escape, than from *London* or any place near the sea; 2. Archbishop *Bourchier*, who had been vice-chancellor, and was then chancellor of that university, may be suppos'd to have had a more than ordinary regard for it, and, in consequence of that, to have prevail'd upon the King to honour it with the first press. To these we may add the two following, viz. 1. That an university was the most proper place for such a work; because it would still be under the eye and direction of the learned men there, who could make choice of the best works to be printed, the best MSS. to print from, and the most skilful persons to correct them; 2. the city of *London*, and almost the whole kingdom being disturb'd and divided by the *Earl of March's* party, and the court engag'd in opposing his measures, an university was a much safer and quieter place to lay the foundation of this art in, than any other in the kingdom. *Corfellis* therefore, and those to whom he was to discover the secret, having sworn fidelity to the king and his successors, and being admitted into the number of the king's servants and household,

household, began to exercise this art as soon as they had got all things ready for it. How long they were thus employ'd in their preparations, and what progress they made after I shall next enquire.

THE reader will have just cause to admire, that, if they began so soon as the latter end of *Henry VI's* reign, viz. before anno 1461, they should have publish'd no work yet discover'd till seven years after, viz. 1468; and that there are but three editions extant between that time and the year 1481, the edition of 1468 included; and, what is still more admirable, that from that year to 1585, which is above 100 years, there is not one volume to be found printed at *Oxford*, tho' the art flourish'd in several other parts of *England*, as will appear in the progress of this history. This last particular I can by no means account for; but the other, I mean their slow progress at first, is easily solv'd by what has been hinted before, viz. the troubles which were then breaking forth, and fell upon the king and court, as well as his deposition, which happen'd immediately after their first settlement in that university, together with the opposition made continually by his Queen and friends against his victorious rival. Besides, if we consider that the Printers were sworn servants to the crown, and consequently incapable to act without the king's special order, or at least his licence, whilst *Henry* their Patron was out of power, and the reigning monarch otherwise employ'd, it will be very easy to account for these delays, and the small progress which they made in those troublesome times. We may likewise with great probability suppose, that most of their works were such as were adapted to those times of superstition, as prayer-books, manuals, legends, &c. which perish'd soon after the reformation.

It must be own'd indeed, that the author of the chronicle, so often mention'd, tells us, that as soon as *Corfellis* had perform'd his promise, and instructed a sufficient number of others in the art, it was thought proper to disperse them, some to *Westminster*, others to *St. Albans*, &c. Yet it is still very surprizing, that so considerable a place as *Oxford* could not detain one of them by a sufficient encouragement. However, 'tis plain, that except *Theodoric Rood*, a *German*, and native of *Cologne*, who very probably came over with *Mr. Caxton* from thence, and of whom we have discover'd but two editions, there are no other footsteps of

printing in this university extant from that time to 1585, nor any tolerable account among the writers of those times for such a wonderful scarcity. But this is not the only thing which the reader will be surpriz'd at, with relation to the slow progress which printing made at *Oxford*.

I have, in the former book, given an account of vast improvements made to that art in foreign countries, and to what a degree of perfection the *Italians* and *French*, in particular, had brought it, not only with respect to the exquisite beauty and variety of characters, richness and elegance of composition, &c. but likewise by their introducing the learned and eastern languages, as *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Arabic*, &c. into their printing-houses, even before the year 1520, and printing several curious polyglot works in all these tongues, besides the *Latin*. But tho' I have extended this *English* history thirty years further than theirs, viz. to the year 1550, yet the reader must not expect to find any thing of this nature done in *England* during that time. Our first Printers, tho' excellent men in their way, contented themselves with printing in their own tongue; and if they ventur'd sometimes either upon *Latin* or *French*, their productions in those languages were few and inconsiderable: but with respect to *Greek* and *Hebrew*, either thro' want of due encouragement from the learned, or of courage in them, 'tis certain they never attempted any thing of that kind till a long time after.

THE reader may remember with what difficulty the *Parisian* Printers were prevail'd upon to venture upon such works; what objections and obstacles they rais'd against so expensive and hazardous an undertaking: yet a learned *Frenchman* so far prevail'd with some of them, that he had the pleasure of seeing several of his own works printed in those languages; the reception of which soon encourag'd them to proceed in several noble undertakings. But the case was far different in *England*: for the learned Dr. *Wakefield*, having made an oration in 1584, to recommend the study of the *Hebrew* and *Arabic* tongues; and shew the usefulness and necessity of them, was oblig'd to publish it maim'd and imperfect, wanting near a third part, because, as he tells us, the Printers of that time had no *Hebrew* types; tho' it was printed by *Wynken de Worde*, one of the most eminent Printers in *Europe* of that age. Printing in *Greek* made no great figure in *England* before the 16th century,

tury; and the most learned work, which we have to boast of, was the polyglot bible of Dr. *Walton*, mention'd at the latter end of the last book, which was not printed till after the restoration by Mr. *Thomas Roycroft*, of whom I shall say more hereafter.

EXCEPT this, I don't find any footsteps of any works in the polyglot kind, but what were small and inconsiderable. However, we, like the *Dutch*, have sufficiently since atton'd for the slow progress which our ancestors made in those noble branches of printing.

I shall now give an account of the editions before mention'd between the years 1468 and 1585.

1. *Sancti Hieronymi expositio in Symbolum Apostolorum*, 4to. } Oxon, 1468.
(without the Printer's name.)

THIS antient piece begins with the following title. *Incipit Expositio Sancti Jeronimi in Symbolum Apostolorum ad Papam Laurentium*. At the end are the following words: *Explicit Expositio Sancti Jeronimi in Symbolo Apostolorum ad Papam Laurentium, Impressus Oxonie & finita Anno Domini MCCCCLXVIII. xvii. die Decembris*. There is one in the Bodleian library, given by the learned bishop *Barlow*, who wrote with his own hand, in the first page, that this *exposition* was not St. *Jerom's*, but *Rufinus's*: *Rufini est hæc Expositio, non Hieronymi*: and in the last page he wrote as follows,

Stephen Bateman doctor of divinity, and chaplain to Hen. Cary Ld. Hunsden upon *Bartholomæus de proprietatibus rerum* [the book was writ in Latin anno 1366, translated into English in 1397,] in the last he tells us, that *Bartholomeus* was first printed in English in 1471, and then he adds, —at which time printing began first in England, the 37th year of Hen. VI. but he is manifestly mistaken, for this foregoing book was printed in 1468 at Oxford, at least two years before. This remark of Dr. *Bateman* has another gross mistake, besides that observ'd by bishop *Barlow*; which is, that the year 1471 was far from being the 37th of Henry VI. who had been depos'd 10 years before. The 37th year of that King's reign was the year 1459; in which 'tis probable some foundations of printing had been laid in England, tho', for the aforementioned reasons, we meet with

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with nothing done in that kind till eight or nine years after. We shall affirm nothing concerning this *English* edition of *Barth. de Propriet. Rer.* (tho' 'tis reasonable to suppose it printed at *Oxford*;) since we have no other account of it but this manuscript note of bishop *Barlow*.

2. *Leonardus Aretinus in Aristot. Ethic. Comment.* Oxon, 1479.

I THINK 'twill not be amiss to insert here what is wrote before these two books, which are in the *Pembroke* library, 'tis as follows.

, Here are the only two books to be seen by *Corfellis*, the first Printer at *Oxford*; tho' there are other copies of the first, of the second we know of only this. These are printed on the same shap'd letters as the *Rationale* and *Catholicon* by *Faust* (vulgarly doctor *Faustus*.) The civil wars in *Edward IV*'s time might probably hinder the progress of the press; the third book, viz.

3. *Ægidius de Româ, alias Ægidius Columna Romanus Archiep. Bituricens. Ord. Eremit. S. Aug. de Peccato Originali, 4to.* } Oxon, 1479,

, was printed about the time of the second, and, 'tis probable, this was printed by *Corfellis*, for the next Printer at *Oxford* was *Rood*, as appears by the following book.

4. The destruction of *Troy* in *Latin*, by *Guido de Columna*, by T. R. } Oxon, 1480.

THERE is also one more printed by *Rood* at *Oxford*, mention'd by *Orlandi*, viz.

5. *Alexandri ab Hales Angli Sententiosa, atque studio digna expositio super tertium Librum de Anima. Impressum per me Theodoricum Rood [Road] de Colonia xi. Octob. in Alma Universitate.* } Oxon, 1481.

• Both

, Both *Corfellis* and *Rood* are mention'd by our historians, to have been brought over by *Caxton*. *Caxton* with *Sir Richard Whetehill* were sent, after he brought in the art, by *Edward IV.* to settle a commerce with the *Duke of Burgundy*, in 1464. Vide *Rymer's Fœdera*.

THUS much for *Oxford* in the infancy of the art.

C H A P. III.

Westminster. MCCCCLXXIV.

WESTMINSTER being the most considerable place on several accounts, and particularly for its productions, and the great applause with which *Mr. Caxton* carry'd on the business of printing there for above 21 years; we have for this reason given it the priority; yet hope I shall be excus'd for this digression concerning *St. Albans*, which has been far less eminent on this account, and as a history of the two books printed there, I shall here relate as I found it wrote before the *Book of Miscellanies*, printed at *St. Albans*, in the *Pembroke* library. 'Tis as follows.

, IT is agreed, that *Corfellis* was the first who printed in *England*, and that *Oxford* and *St. Albans* were the two first places; the types, as may be seen in my Lord's books, at *Oxford* were like those of *Faust*; the types of this at *St. Albans* are like the *Dutch Spiegel*. *Junius* argues for the first printing to be at *Harlem* from the *Dutch Spiegel*; but it appears from what is writ before the five books, call'd *Paginæ Conglutinatæ*, that the *Latin* one of this *Dutch* was before it, the which he had not seen, neither does it conclude where it was printed; however, this book of *St. Albans* affords an argument, which *Junius* could not then know of, that the *Dutch* letter might be before 1460, and it favours what *Atkins* says of a press brought over from *Harlem* in the time of *Henry VI.* who dy'd in 1460. This is the same letter, and we read that *Frederick Corfellis* did at *St. Albans* instruct an old learned school-master to print, and *Corfellis* was of a considerable age when *Theodoric de Rood* of *Colen* succeeded him at *Oxford*, by whom we have two books printed; the first as old as 1430, already taken notice of. It has been a doubt, whether, they

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, they first printed at *St. Albans* or at *Oxford*, the oldest book of *St. Albans* with a date is here ; but we cannot prove this book of *Miscellanies* , to be older than the dissolution of the Abbies by *K. Henry VIII.* 'till , when a press remain'd, and the first letter us'd as late as 1490, such a , year appearing in this book. We know of but one more book at *St. Albans*, the which my Lord also has ; it discovers that there was another , press set up at *St. Albans* after this, with the letter of the *Spiegel*, because that is printed with *Caxton's* types, and hath (as *Caxton's* books , have) the two improvements of indenting paragraphs, and dividing words , by hyphens at the ends of the lines ; the Printers of this, with the letter , of the *Spiegel*, continu'd to print as they began, without the two improvements, even after the press of *Caxton* ; tho' even here that press , us'd his improvements. This other book is dated 1486 in words at , length, at the end of the book of hunting, besides the arms of that monastery, which are at the end of the whole book. *Spelman* in his *Aspilologia*, quotes the whole book, as wrote by *Juliana Barnes*, and is so referr'd , to by *Bale* in his *Scriptores*, tho' she appears to be the author only of , the piece of hunting ; the treatise in that book of coat arms, is only a , translation of *Upton de re Militari*. That printed by *Caxton* at *Westminster* in 1496, was a second edition of this book.

, OF this, with the types of the *Spiegel*, there is a second edition in 1529, , printed by *Winken de Worde* ; it consists of miscellanies, and has something very remarkable, as the old tryal in *K. Henry VI's* time at *Leicester*, (not taken notice of in our great collection of state-tryals) of the , cardinal of *Winchester*, impeach'd by the Duke of *Gloucester* before the , *House of Lords*, in which appears the names of the mitred Abbots among , the Lords spiritual and temporal, and the form of the clerks entring as , they came in, and at different times took the oaths. The names of the , thirty six churches in *London* and suburbs that were not parochial ; also , of the hundred and eighteen parish churches and their patrons. In this , is the *Nut brown maid*, suppos'd by *Chaucer*, as *Skelton* confirms, by having had a copy given him by *Lidgate*, Monk of *Bury*. Mr. Prior has , made a paraphrase on it, and has also printed it from the old *English*, , but knew not that it was by *Chaucer* ; besides, in his, each verse is divided into two, as the first verse ends with *among*, and the second ends , with

with *it is*, &c. Also in his, *Woman and Man*, is printed at the beginning of each Stanza [here they are suppos'd] as they speak. Also the last Stanza (which makes twelve lines by his division) is wanting.

Thus far we have copied from my Lord's manuscript notes before his books of *St. Albans*. We now proceed to *Westminster*; and here 'tis requisite to observe, that Dr. *Islip*, abbot of *Westminster*, having very liberally promoted this art, and encourag'd Mr. *Caxton*, to whom he assign'd that part of the Abby, suppos'd by some of our historians to be the Ambry or Eleemosinary. As a confirmation of this opinion, Mr. *Newcourt* in his *Repertorium*, tom. i. pag. 721, has it thus: ' *St. Ann's*, an old chappel, over against which the Lady *Margaret*, mother to king *Henry VII*, erected an alms-house for poor women, which is now turned into lodgings for the singing-men of the college. The place, wherein this chapel and alms-house stood, was called the Eleemosinary or Almonry, now corruptly the Ambry, [Aumbry] for that the alms of the Abby were there distributed to the poor; in which *Islip*, abbot of *Westminster* erected the first press for book-printing, that ever was in *England*, about the year of *Christ* 1471, and where *William Caxton*, citizen and mercer of *London*, who first brought it into *England*, practis'd it.' This might occasion the report, that this abbot first brought printing to *England* at his own charges. This notion of his introducing the art into our nation, which has prevail'd among several of our writers, is not only contradicted by the author of the chronicle, but seems to be groundless on this account, that if there had been any truth in it, Mr. *Caxton* would have been oblig'd in gratitude to have taken notice of this singular piece of merit of his friend and patron, in some of the prefaces to his works.

I HAVE follow'd the same method in this book, as I did in the former, dating the places according to the oldest edition extant, that bears any certain date; tho' I am not ignorant that some of them may come short of being the first that were printed there. Mr. *Bagford* (whose papers are now in the possession of the right honourable the Earl of *Oxford*, at *Wimpole* in *Cambridgeshire*) tells us, in a proposal he publish'd for a History of Printing, that *Caxton's* first impression seems to be that of

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the

Game of Chess, in 1474; because it carries that date in the device, as the reader may see under his picture at the front of the second volume, tho' he owns there was another impression of it without that device, as well as several other of his works without any date at all. However, the oldest that has a certain date, ought in reason to fix our epocha, according to our method.

WILLIAM CAXTON. 1474.

MR. Caxton was born, as he writes himself, in the *Weeld* of Kent, where the broadest *English* is spoken; but as *Fuller*, in his *English Worthies* asserts, he was born at Caxton in *Hertfordshire*, being perhaps lead into that error by his surname, since it was the custom of that time for persons to denominate themselves from the place of their birth. I think it will be necessary to subjoin his own account of himself in this respect, from his preface to the *Recule of the Historyes of Troye*, translated by him out of the *French* of *Raoul le Fevre*, Priest. —, When I remember myself of my unperfitness in both languages. — In *Fraunce*, was I never, and was born and lerned myne *English* in *Kente* in the *Weeld*, where *English* is spoken broad and rude. — I have continued for the most part in the countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zeland*. — The Dutchesse of *BOURGOGNE* sifter of the king of *England*, when she had seen v or vi quairs, found default in myn *English*, which she commaunded me to ammand, and to continue and make an end of the residue, — whose commaund I durst not disobey. — Thus far Mr. Caxton: and I can't but observe, that the faults of his *English* are owing more to his long continuance abroad, than to the place of his birth; which will easily appear from an accurate observation of his language and manner of spelling, which discover the foreigner more than a broad-spoken *Kentish* man. His education was owing to his mother, and extended no farther than to read and write, which, he says, procur'd him a good maintenance. Mr. *Bale* tells us indeed, that he understood the *Latin* tongue; which is plain, from his translations out of that language.

But

But, as he does not mention it as a part of his youthful education, 'tis very probable that he did not apply himself to the study of it till a long time after. — He was bred a mercer of the city of *London*, and became a *Conjurys* thereof, * as he styles himself in his preface to *Cato*, that is, a sworn member of that company, which in those days consisted of very considerable merchants, trading more particularly into the *Low-Countries*, and some of the maritime parts of *Germany*. To these he was frequently sent, but never had the fortune to visit *France*; tho' he became so good a master of that language, as to translate several volumes into *English*, of which we shall give an account hereafter. His travels likewise so well accomplish'd him in the *Highb* and *Low-Dutch*, that upon the account of this, and his knowledge of those countries and their trade, the king chose him as a fit person to undertake the bringing printing to *England*. This task, how difficult and hazardous soever, he acquitted himself with great integrity.

Mr. *Caxton*, besides his accomplishments as a merchant, acquired a great deal of politeness, partly by his travels for 30 years, and partly by his frequent residence at the court of the dutchess of *Burgundy*, sister to king *Edward IV*, who caress'd and patroniz'd him very much; for, in the preface abovemention'd, he tells us, that he was a *servant to her grace*, and received of her a yearly fee, and other many good and greate benefits. He was likewise a favourite to several of our kings, particularly *Henry VI*, *Edward IV*, *Richard III*, and *Henry VII*; and highly esteem'd by the prime of our nobility, and especially by the duke of *Clarence*, the king's uncle, to whom he dedicated some of his works; the countess of *Derby*, king *Henry VII*'s mother; the earl of *Rivers*, *Arundel*, with many others. As he was a person indefatigable and ambitious of applause, as well as earnest in promoting the glory of his own country, he read incessantly the

* I have indeed, thro' the favour of Mr. *Crimp*, at *Mercer's* hall, search'd their book of freemen, but could not find his name there. There was one *Richard Caxton* made free about that time, whether it was a relation

of his, or a mistake in transcribing his christian name, I cannot be sure of; but however, as he calls himself a *Mercer of London*, we have no reason to doubt it.

histories of his own and other nations; which at proper times he digested into order. At his return to *England*, he became acquainted with a learned schoolmaster of *St. Albans*, suppos'd by some writers upon good grounds to have been the printer of *Juliana Barnes*. This person, having laid the foundation of a compleat body of *English* history, kept a constant correspondence with Mr. *Caxton*, and was assisted by him in his translations; but, being prevented by death from finishing his work, Mr. *Caxton* procur'd his papers, examin'd, and reduc'd them to order, and compar'd them with the best authors he could get, as *Livy*, *St. Austin*, *Gildas*, *Beda*, *Isidorus*, *Cassiodorus*, *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, *William of Malmesbury*, *Martin Canfulanus*, and others; from whom he also extracted many considerable passages, which he added to the history. This work he entitled *Fruetus temporum*, or the fruits of time, in seven books; to which he subjoin'd a chronology. The history begins with the giants, the first suppos'd inhabitants of this island, and concludes with the 23d year of *Edward IV.* viz. ann. 1483. What share our author had in this performance, and how great a part was done by the schoolmaster, is impossible to determine. This book was often reprinted and much valued at that time; yet, tho' it is the most considerable piece which Mr. *Caxton* publish'd, we have several others written and printed by himself, which are as follow:

2. *An appendix to Trevisa's English translation of Rándulph's polychronicon*, 1 book;

3. *The image of the world*, 1 book;

4. *The description of Great Britain*, 1 book;

5. *The life of Edward the Confessor*, 1 book;

6. *The history of king Arthur*, 21 books;

and some others, all in *English*. The appendix to *Trevisa* is continued, from the year 1397, in which the supplement of *Trevisa* to the *polychronicon* ends, to the year 1460, in which he wrote it. The learned Mr. *Selden* indeed ascribes the whole to *Trevisa*; but, besides that, *Caxton* takes the supplement and other additions and interpretations to himself; but 'tis plain, as Dr. *Nicholson* observes, that *Trevisa*, according to that supposition, must have wrote near a hundred years after his death. Those which he translated out of *Latin* and *French* are as follows:

Out

Out of Latin.

1. *Vegetius de re militari*, or of the art of war, 4 books ;
2. *Joannita of the game of chess*, 4 books ;
3. *The history of the destruction of Troy*, 3 books ;
4. *Bonaventure of the Life of Christ*, 1 book ;
5. *The history of Lombardy*, 1 book ;
6. *John Tinnmouth's Sanctilogium Britannicæ*, epitomiz'd by Capgrave.

From French.

1. *The siege and conquest of Jerusalem*, by Geodfrey of Bologne, dedicated to King Edward IV.
2. *The royal book*, entitled in French *le livre royal*.

BESIDES these, there are several others in the list of his printed works subjoin'd to the account of his life. He printed likewise some books in *French*, as *La legende doree*, &c. and some in *Latin*, as *Vita patrum* and *Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ*, &c. This catalogue of his works, as an author, I have taken from *Pitts* and *Bale*; the latter of whom gives him the character of *vir non omnino stupidus nec ignavia torpens*, neither a perfect dunce nor abandon'd to laziness: I shall more readily assent to the judgment of a much later and more judicious writer, Dr. *Nicholson* who says of *Bale* (p. 177) that he gives the account of men and their labours at random; and of *Caxton* (p. 190) that the opportunities he had, of being acquainted with the court-transactions of his own time, would encourage his reader to hope for greater matters from him; but that his fancy seems to have lead him into an undertaking (with respect to his *Fruetus temporum*) above his strength. There is one thing very observable concerning this excellent Printer and author, that he translated, printed, corrected, illuminated and bound all his Books within his own office or printing-house. As he printed long before the method of adding the errata at the end of books was in use, so his extraordinary exactness oblig'd him to a great deal more trouble than can easily be imagin'd; for he tells us, in the preface to some of his books, that his chief care, after a work was printed off, was to revise it, and mend all the faults with his own hand with red ink; which being done to one copy, he caus'd some of his journey-men to do the same throughout the whole impression; which he afterwards compar'd with his first sheet, to see that

they

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they had not omitted any of his corrections. 'Tis true, they did not print off so large a number of books as now ; for 250 or 300 were thought a large impression ; but even that number made it very tedious to correct throughout : tho' this was practis'd by several eminent Printers of other nations, 'till they found out the way of printing the errata in some blank leaves of the book.

MR. *Caxton* having made himself a perfect master of the Art of Printing (not at *Oxford* under *Fred. Corfellis*, as some authors imagine, but during his travels beyond sea, as will appear hereafter) came and settled at *Westminster*, where abbot *Islip* (as some say) his friend and patron, assign'd him one of the chapels belonging to the abby, as we have before quoted from *Newcourt*, as being retir'd and free from interruption ; and from this or some other chapel, 'tis suppos'd that the name of chapel has been given to all printing-houses in *England* ever since. And notwithstanding it is by some reported, that it was set up in the chapel there, I can trace no footsteps of its having been practis'd in that place. My manuscript beforemention'd says, , that a press was set up in *Westminster* abby by abbot *Islip*, in the little ambry, where *William Caxton* was master'. Mr. *Bagford* assigns the house in the ambry which was formerly the king's head, as the place where *Caxton* carried on his printing, but had I been early enough in my enquiry before 'twas pull'd down, as Mr. *Bagford* was, I flatter my self I could have found some remains. I have great reason to think it had been a printing-house, by having been inform'd, that some persons found among the rubbish some remains of printing materials ; but, thro' ignorance of the curiosity of them, they are either lost or destroy'd. As I have given my reasons against the arts being practis'd in the chapel at *Westminster*, I rather think, that our technical terms in printing, such as a printing-house being call'd a chapel ; and where printing is grey in one place, and too black in another, the grey is call'd a fryar, and the black a monk ; I think, I say, that these terms took their original from the art's being practis'd in other religious houses besides that at *Westminster* : for 'tis evident, by the book hereafter mention'd, printed in the exempt monastery of *Tavistock* in *Devonshire*, by *Dan Thomas Richard*, monk of the said monastery, that several of the religious orders exercis'd this art, perhaps in some
outer

outer chapel, which, being dedicated to some saint, was only us'd once a year on the anniversary of that saint.

THE reader will find, that printing-houses were set up in several cities and towns in *England*, where they had any considerable religious house. Thus we see the abbey of *St. Albans* had printing there very soon, as before notic'd. Nor was this the only religious house where printing was practis'd, and that very early; for time has discover'd to us several others, such as *Tavistock*, as aforesaid, *Worcester*, *Canterbury*, *Ipswich*; which were chosen for that purpose. We have already hinted, that the first Printers were sworn servants to the Crown; and in particular Mr. *Caxton* not only printed as such, but all his impressions were recommended either by the king, or princes of the blood, or by some eminent patron amongst the nobility, who bore the charges of the whole. The types with which he printed were peculiar to himself, and easily distinguish'd from any other, being a mixture of secretary and Gothic in shape, the size great primer. He had several eminent workmen under him; particularly *Winken de Worde*, a Dutchman, and *Rich. Pynson*, a citizen of *London*, who afterwards printed for themselves many valuable pieces, which shall be mention'd in their proper place. They likewise us'd a letter peculiar to themselves, which as I shall take notice, differ'd from their master's, and was more refin'd and moderniz'd. Mr. *Caxton*, besides his other valuable qualifications, was a person of exemplary piety and strictness of life. He continu'd printing from before the year 1474 to 1495, as is evident from the end of the *Vita patrum* and *Hilton's scale*, printed, or rather finish'd, in that year by *Winken de Worde*. Mr. auditor *Jett* deceas'd, assur'd me, that he was bury'd in *St. Margaret's* church, *Westminster*; and that he saw the remains of his tomb-stone, but I have not as yet been able to find it.

THE list of his works is as follows; in which I could not possibly recover the right titles of each book; but such as I could meet with, I have set down exactly as printed by him. Those which have no certain date are put at the end.

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1. *The Game of chess*. fol. translated out of the Latin of Joannita, and by him dedicated to the duke of Florence, brother to king Edward IV, who was murther'd in the tower, ann. 1477. There are two editions of Caxtons of this book; one which has a kind of cypher or device, bearing the date of 74, and the other without both. The former therefore I suppose to be first printed, which has the date, *Westminster*, } 1474.

It is now in the *Pembroke* library, nor do I know of one any where else.

2. *A book of sayings of the philosopher Socrates*, translated out of Latin into French, by Johan. de Tronville, provost of Paris, and out of the French into English, by Wydewyll, Earl of Ryvers ---- emprinted by me William Caxton at Westmestre. } 1477.

The work was by the Earl's desire overseen by Caxton. *Caxton me fieri fecit*. This book is in the library of my worthy friend and promoter of this work Mr. Granger.

3. *Memorare novissima*, which entreateth of the four last things, the first of death, the second of the last judgment, the third of the pains of hell, the fourth of the joys of heaven; translated out of the French by Antony, Earl of Rivers, Lorde Scales, and of the *Isle of Weight*, defensor and dictator of the causes apostolique for our holy father the pope, uncle and governour to my lord, prince of Wales: printed by Villam Caxton, in the year of Edward IV. 4to. Ibid. } 1478.

4. *Ovid's metamorphosis*. Ibid: } 1479.

5. *Thymage or mirrour of the world*, translated from the French into English. *ibid.* fol. } 1480.

BEGAN the second of January, 1480, and finish'd it the 8th of March in the same year. *Caxton me fieri fecit*.

6. *The*

6. *The history of England, together with the history of Ireland,* } 1480.
taken out of the polychronicon. fol. ibid.

THERE are two editions of this book, both by Caxton, and since then it has been frequently reprinted by others till the year 1630.

7. *The life and history of king Arthur, &c. in 21 books, written* } 1480.
and printed by Caxton. ibid.

8. *The history of the last siege and conquest of Jerusalem, trans-* } 1481.
lated from the French of Godfrey of Bologn. ¹ ibid.

9. *The history of Reynard the fox. 4to. ibid.* 1481.

10. *Tully of old-age and of friendship, in English. fol.* 1481.

11. *The continuation of Ranulph's polychronicon, English'd by Tre-* } 1482.
visa. fol. without the place's name. by W. Caxton. ²

12. *Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum Anglicæ. fol. ibid.*

THIS was communicated to me whilst I was printing this list, so that I had not time to enquire after the English title of it.

13. *Cathone's exhortations or precepts, with comments, fol. ibid.* } 1483.
³ *december xxiii.*

14. *The history of the knights of the tower. ibid.* 1483.

¹ With many histories therein compriz'd translated, and reduc'd out of French into English by me simple person William Caxton, which book I present unto the most christian king Edward IV. — which book I began in march 7, and finish'd the 7th of juin, 1481. and the 21st year of king Edward IV. and in this month set in form and emprinted the 20th of november the year aforesaid in the abby of Westminster by the said William Caxton.

² First translated out of Latin by John Trevisa, chaplain to the lord Berkley, and then continued by me simple person William Caxton, &c. printed july 2.

³ At the end are these words: Cathon translated out of French into English by William Caxton, in the abby of Westmynstre, 1483, first yere of our king Richard the thyrd, 23d of decembre.

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15. *The pilgrimage of the soul, translated out of French into English with somewhat of additions. fol. emprinted by me William Caxton at Westmestre.* ¹ } 1483.
16. *Cato English'd by Caxton. fol.* } 1483.
17. *Confessio amantis, the confession of the lover made by Johan. Gower, born in Walys, in the time of king Richard the second. fol. emprinted by me William Caxton at Westmestre.* ² } 1483.
18. *The book of homilies in English. fol. ibid.* } 1483.
19. *La legende dorée. ibid. 1^{re} année de Richard III.* } 1483.
20. *Directions for keeping the feasts of the whole year. fol. ibid. June the last.* } 1483.
21. *The lives of the saints. ibid.* } 1484.
22. *The royal book, entitled in French, Le livre royal. ³ fol. translated and printed by William Caxton, in the second year of king Richard III. without the place's name.* } 1484.
23. *Walter Hilton's scale of perfection. ibid.* } 1484.
24. *The history of the noble and valiant knyght Paris, and the fair Vienne, the daughter of the doulphin of Viennes. fol. ibid.* ⁴ } 1485.
25. *The life of Charles the great. ibid.* } 1485.
26. *Vita patrum. ibid.* } 1485.

¹ Finish'd the sixth day of june, the first yere of king Edward the fifth.

² Finish'd the second of september, the first yere of Richard the 3d, in the yere a thousand CCCCXXXIII. In this date 'tis plain, by the king's reign, that the X's must be taken for twenties and not for tens.

³ A special book to know all vices and the branches of them, and also all virtues. This book sheweth and enseigneth it so subtilly, so

shortly, so perceivingly, and so perfectly, that for so short comprehension of the noble clear-gie, and of the right great substance that is therein compris'd, it may be call'd above other books, the royal book, or book for a king.

⁴ Translated out of French into English by William Caxton of Westminster, finish'd the last of august, 1485, and emprinted the 19th of december the same year.

27. *Malvoire's history of king Arthur.* *ibid.* *julii ult. in the year* 1485.
28. *The book of good manners.* *ibid.* ¹ 1486.
29. *A treatise against pride.* *ibid.* 1486.
30. *Dives and Lazarus, a dialogue on the decalogue.* *fol. ibid.* 1488.
31. *The book of xpye, (Christian) of Pysedracon, out of Vegetius de
re militari, and out of the arbre of bataille, with many other
things setten to the same, requisite to warre and batailles;
which book was delivered to translate and print, to William
Caxton by king Henry the seventh, in the fourth year of his
reign. fol. ibid.* ² 1489.
32. *The book of feats of arms.* *ibid.* 1489.
33. *Virgil's æneid translated, or rather epitomiz'd, from the French
in prose by William Caxton: printed by him. fol. ibid.* } 1490.
34. *The history of Jason.* *ibid.* 1492.
35. *Confessio amantis, or the confession of the lover, of Johan. Gower,
Ec. ibid.* This is the second edition, with the same colo- } 1493:
phon as the former.
36. *Vita patrum.* Second edition. *ibid.* 1495.
37. *Recueil of the history of Troy, per Caxton.* 1502.

THIS edition, with some others, were communicated to me by a learned antiquary, in those very words, but whether he was really the Printer of it, or only the author, and the book Printed by some other, is what I cannot determine, unless I could have seen the book.

¹ Compos'd by frere Jacques le Graunt, religious of the order of St. Augustin.

of january, and finished the 7th of july the same year, and emprinted the 14th of july next following.

² Which Translation was began the 23d

Those that follow are without date.

1. *Liber festialis.*

THIS edition, though I have given it no higher rank, upon the account of its having no date, doth yet manifestly appear to me to have been the first book extant of *Caxton's* Printing. I have seen it at my Lord *Pembroke's* library, and compar'd it with those of the *Game of Chess*, his three books of the history of *Troy*, and his *Polychronicon*; all which have been severally look'd upon as his oldest edition by one analist or other, and find in it these two unquestionable marks of antiquity above the other three, viz. 1. The types on which it is printed appear to be entirely new, though they be the very same which he used in all his other works; whereas, in the others they seem to be more used and worn. 2. This edition is the only one whose lines are not spaced out to the end; this being an improvement and elegancy introduced by him in imitation of foreign Printers; whereas all the first editions had the same defect with this.

As for the three books of the history of *Troy*, the second is that which I imagine to have been printed first. I have seen it very perfect in several libraries, but the first and third I never could meet with any where, but in the noble library above mention'd. And even here they are somewhat imperfect, the first book wanting a few leaves at the beginning, and the third at the end. However, they all bear alike the mark of antiquity, and are unquestionably done with *Caxton's* types. The oldest book I could ever meet with that bears a date is his second edition of the *Game at Chess*, in 1474, as may be seen by the catalogue above; and what inclines me to believe it to have been the first of that kind, is that the same date 74 is continued in his following works that are dated, to which he sometimes added the two initial letters of his name, as in the mark or rebus here subjoined.

N. B. W C stands for William Caxton, and the Figure between, for 74, i. e. 1474; the reader will plainly perceive the 7, and the other is a figure of 4, as made at that time.



We have met with but five editions without date, though we have ventured to add several more upon the authority of Mr. Maunsel and other authors, who we think may be rely'd on.

2. *The game of Chesh.* ¹
3. *The rule of the monks of St. Bennet.* fol. *ibid.*
4. *The life of our Lady.* fol. ²
5. *The life of St. Winifred.* 4to. translated and printed by William Caxton.
6. *St. Austin raising two dead persons.* 4to.
7. *An exposition on the Lord's Prayer, Belief, Commandments, seven sacraments, seven virtues, seven deadly sins: item, the general sentence, or sentence of cursing, modus fulminandi sententiam: the beads on sonday.* fol. Printed by William Caxton at Westminster. ³
8. *The fruit of time.* fol. collected, compil'd, and Printed by William Caxton. *ibid.*
9. *The spousage of a virgin.* 4to. *ibid.*
10. *The siege of Rhodes.* fol. *ibid.*
11. *Boetius de consolatione philosophiæ.* *ibid.*
12. *The mirrour of the blessed life of Jesus Christ, written in Latin by the worshipful Dr. Bonaventure; translated into English in 1410, and brought to the reverend father Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, who commanding and allowing the same, was afterwards printed by William Caxton.* *ibid.*

¹ Part of Caxton's Preface to the Game of Chesh, in the hands of Maurice Johnson, Esq; is as follows; ' And when I to had acheved the said Translacion I dyde do sette in empynte a certein nombre of theym whiche anone were depefshed and folde, and wherefore by cause thys sayd book is ful of holsom Wysedom and requysyte unto every astate and degree, I have purposed to empynte

it, shewing therein the figures of such personages as longen to the Playe.

² Written in verse by John Lidgate, monk of Bury.

³ *This book begins thus;* The maister of sentences in the second book and first distinct. faith, that the soveraigne cause why God made all creatures in heaven, earth, or water, was his own goodnes.

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13. *Chaucer's Canterbury-tales, collected into one volume by Mr. Caxton.*
14. *The book of arts and sciences by Mr. Caxton.*
15. *The Curiace of Master Alayn Charetier, translated by Caxton. Belong-
ing to Maurice Johnson, Esq;*
16. *Parvus cbato — Cato's precepts in Latin and English verse.*
17. *De fide & cantu famule sue.*

II. WINKEN DE WORDE. MCCCCXCV.

WINKEN *de Worde*, the *Dutchman*, is suppos'd to have come over with Mr. Caxton, and was his servant and journey-man. He succeeded him in his Printing-house, as appears from some of his first impressions done by him, as he tells us, *in the house of Mr. Caxton*. It's difficult to assign the exact time when he came to *England*; whether with *Frederick Corfellis*, as my manuscript affirms, or some years after, which is more probable. After Mr. Caxton's death, he carry'd on the business, and finish'd some volumes begun by his master, as the *Canterbury-tales* and *Hilton's scale of perfection*. This last Mr. *Mattaire* dates in the year 1494, and Mr. *Bagford* 1465, who gives it as the first impression done in *Winken de Worde's* name. I have chosen to follow Mr. *Bagford*, who was very exact, as far as he could procure materials; for I have not yet met with the book my self. Though the list of this Printer's works is very large, yet I am certain there are many more either lost or still latent in some libraries; for he was a person of vast industry, and receiv'd all imaginable encouragement; so that he publish'd several volumes in one year, though we meet with some considerable chasms in others, during which time we cannot suppose him idle. He left *Westminster*, and set up his Printing-house in *Fleet-street*, at the sign of the *Sun*, in the parish of *St. Bride*. I cannot determine the year of his removal; though his first impression there was done, anno 1503. He printed several *Latin*, as well as *English* volumes, but no *Greek*, as I can find. He continued Printing with great applause till the year 1533,
if

if not beyond that time. At his death he left a sum of money for an annual *obit* for his soul to the parish of *St. Bride's*, of which he was an inhabitant. He was a person of great accomplishments in learning, as well as strictness of morals; and though he was the immediate successor of *Caxton*, yet he improv'd the art to a very great perfection. At his first setting up for himself, his first care was to cut a new sett of puncheons, which he sunk into matrices, and cast several sorts of Printing-letter, which he afterwards us'd. As *Caxton* us'd but two sizes, *Double Pica* and *Great Primmer*, viz.

Begun and finished by me simple Man, W. C.

Begun and finished by me simple Man, W. C.

Winken de Worde gave a greater scope to his fancy, and form'd such a variety of sorts and sizes of letter, that for several years after him, none of his successors attempted to imitate him therein. If he was the manual operator in cutting and casting in his own founding-house, 'tis an incredible improvement which he made to the art; but, if he had his letter from any other Printer abroad, though it robs him of this glory, yet his excellent method of disposition, composition, and press-work, shews him to have far excell'd his master, and even to rival any of his contemporaries abroad. There is one circumstance that induces me to think that he was his own letter-founder; which is, that in some of his first Printed books, the very letter he made use of, is the same us'd by all the Printers in *London* to this day; and I believe were struck from his puncheons.

The first is the two lin'd *Great Primmer* black,

by me Winken de Worde

The next is the *Great Primmer* black,

This Work was finished by me, Winken de Worde.

He

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He is the first *English* Printer, who introduc'd the *Roman* letter in *England*, which he us'd with his *Gothic* or black letter, to distinguish any thing remarkable, as we do the *Italic* with the *Roman* at this time. His letter is different from most other Printers, and is cast so true, and stands so well in line, as not to be excell'd by any ever since: in his *Gothic* and *Roman* letter he fell in with the custom of those times by using abbreviations, even in his small siz'd letters. One circumstance I would observe is, that he is the only Printer I can find in *England* that us'd very small body'd letters in the infancy of the art, and he was fond even to the very last of using his master *Caxton's* rebus, of which we have given a specimen at the bottom of page 340. Upon the whole, he was a very curious, laborious, and indefatigable Printer; and I doubt not but time will add to his character, by bringing to light some noble testimonies of so great a man, which for want of, I am obliged to say so little here. He is the first Printer I have yet discover'd who began to print the year-books. ¹

The List of his Works, as far as I have been able to collect them, are as follows.

1. *Polychronicon.* 1495.
2. *Chaucer's Canterbury-tales collected by William Caxton, and printed by Wynken de Worde at Westmestre.* fol. 1495.
3. *The lives of the holy faders hermits, translated by Caxton, with cuts, 10. Hen. 7. Westmynstre.* 1495.
4. *Walter Hylton's scale of perfection, printed in William Caxton's house.* 1495.
5. *Meditations of St. Bernard, translated from Latin into English by a devout student of the university of Cambridge, and has been put to be imprinted by W. de W. 4to. Westmynster the ix. of March.* 1496.

¹ He and his Successor *Richard Pynson* *Lincoln's-Inn* Manuscript-library, being imprinted above 40 year-books, which are in scrib'd *Libri manuscripti*.

5. *A compendyouſe treatiſe, dialogue of Dives and Pauper, viz. the
ryche and the poore, fructuouſly treatynge upon the tenne com-
maundements, emprynted at Weſtmonſtre, III. Decembre.* } 1496.
6. *Treatyſes pertaynyng to hawkyng and huntynge, and a trea-
tyſe of cotarmours. ibid.* } 1496.
7. *Nicholas Uptonus Sarisberienſis canonicus, & ſcriptor haraldicus:
de re haraldica Anglicé. Weſtmynſter.* } 1496.
8. *Frute of tymes, compyled and emprynted by one ſometyme Schole-
maſter of Saynt Albons; and in 1497 emprinted at Weſt-
meſtre.* } 1497.
9. *Contemplation of ſinners, for every day in the week, a ſingular
meditation, compyled at the requeſt of Richard Lord Biſhop of
Dureſme, Lord Privie ſeal of England, by dit. ib. 4to. July 10.* } 1499.
10. *Jo. Gubriand. ſinonima. 4to.* 1500.
11. *The Hill of perfeſtion intituled in Latin, Mons Perfectionis,
written by John Alcocke, Biſhop of Ely, by ditto, ibid. 4to.* } 1501.
12. *Vocabula Magiſtri Stanbrigi.* 1501.
13. *The Ordinary of Chriſten men. 4to.* 1502.
14. *Hore Beate Marie Virginis, cum fig. printed upon Vellum.* 1502.
15. *John Gerson's three books of the Imitation of Chriſt, translated
into Engliſh, by Will. Atkinſon, DD. at King Henry VIIth's
Mother's deſire.* } 1502.
16. *Aeſopi fabulæ, cum comm.* 1503.
18. *The boke of the Recules of the ſiege of Troy, emprynted in Lon-
don in Fleetſtreet, at the ſign of the Sonne, with figures.* } 1503.
19. *Garlandia vocabulorum interpretatio.* 1505.
20. *The Ordinarye of Chriſten men.* 1506.

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21. *Ars moriendi, that is the craft to dye, for the health of man's* } 1506.
soul, by ditto. 4to.
22. *The castle of honour, a poem.* 1506.
23. *The Festival, or sermons on sondays and holidais, taken out of* } 1508.
the Golden Legende, 4to.
24. *The book of carving.* 1508.
25. *The golden legende, reprinted. 4to.* 1508.
26. *The parliament of devils.* 1509.
27. *The court of sapience, a poem.* 1510.
28. *Demands joyous.* 1511.
29. *Promptuarium parvul. clericor. 4to.* 1512.
30. *History of Hilyas, knight of the swans, with figures, on parch-* } 1512.
ment. 4to.
31. *Bucolica Virgilii.* 1512.
32. *The long Accydence.* 1513.
33. *The fruit of redemption. Approved by Richard, bishop of London.* 1514.
34. *Liber Theodeli, cum comm. 4to.* 1515.
35. *Expositio Sequentiarum secundum usum Sarum.* 1515.
36. *The Chronicle of the world, or the fruit of time, in 7 books.* 1515.
37. *Virgilii bucolica, cum comm. 2d. edition.* 1516.
38. *Seneca de 4 virtutibus cardinalibus.* 1516.
39. *Ortus vocabulorum alphabetico ordine ferè omnia quæ in catbo-*
licon, Breuiloquio, cornucopia, gemma vocabulorum atque me-
dullâ grammaticæ ponuntur; cum vernaculæ linguæ Angli-
canæ expositione continens, impressus per Wincandum de Worde,
ac in urbe in parochia Sanctæ Brigidæ (de Fletestrete) ad
signum solis moram trahentem, 4to. } 1516.

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40. *Fabulæ Æsopi, cum comm.* 4to. 1516.
41. *Rob. Whittintoni Litchfield. gramm. lucub.* 4to. 1517.
42. *Parabole Alami, cum comm.* 1517.
43. *Sulpitius Verulamus de moribus puerorum.* 1518.
44. *Whittintonus de concin. gram. construct.* 1518.
45. ——— de 8 partibus orat. 4to. 1519.
46. *Familiaria colloquia Erasmi.* 1519.
47. *The Orcharde of Syon, with the revelations of Saynt Catherine
of Sene, translated by Dane James, at the cost of master Ri- } 1519.
chard Sutton¹, Steward of the monastery of Sion.*
48. *The passion of our Lord, translated from the French, by An- } 1519.
drew Chertsey, Gent.*
49. *The dietary of ghostly health.* 1520.
50. *History of England.* fol. 1520.
51. *Vocabula Magistri Stanbrigi (2d Edition)* 1521.
52. *Whittintonus de nominum generibus.* 1521.
53. *Vulgaria Rob. Whittintoni Lichfeldiensis.* 1521.
54. *The mirrour of the Church of St. Edmond of Abyndon.* 1521.
55. *The flower of the commaundments of God, with many examples
and authorities drawn out of the holy scriptures and ancient } 1521.
Docters, translated out of French.* fol.
56. *Whittintonus de syllabarum quantitate.* 1522.
57. ——— lucubrationes. 1523.
58. ——— *Verborum præterita & supina.* 1524.

¹ Founder of the Charter-house.

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59. ——— *Declinationes nominum.* 1524.
60. *Roberti Wakefeldi oratio de utilitate ling. Arabicæ & Hebraicæ.* 4to. ¹ } 1524.
61. *Vulgaria Rob. Whitintoni.* (2d Edition) 1525.
62. *The image of love.* 1525.
63. *Whitintonus de heteroclitis nominibus.* 1526.
64. *The lives of the three kings of Colein,* 4to. 1526.
65. *The mirrour of gold for a sinful soul, translated out of the French by the ryght excellent Princeſſe Margaret Mother to King Hen. 7. Counteſſe of Richmond and Derby.* 4to. } 1526.
66. *The golden legende, wherein beene containd all the high feaſts of our Lord, and of our Ladie, the lives, paſſions, and many other miracles of many other ſaintes hiſtories, finiſhed the 27th of Auguſt.* fol. } 1527.
67. *Whitintoni vulgaria, & de inſtit. gram.* 4to. 1527.
68. ——— *de ſyllabarum quantitate.* 1528.
69. ——— *lucubrationes.* 2d. edit. 1529.
70. ——— *ſyntaxis.* 1529.
71. ——— *de partibus orationum.* 1529.
72. *Conſtitutiones Othonis.* 8vo. 1529.
73. *The miracles of our Ladie.* 4to. 1530.
74. *Grad. Comparat. cum verb. anomal.* 1530.
75. *Parvulorum. inſt. ex Stranbrig. collect.* 1530.

¹ The Author excuſes himſelf to the king [Hen. VIII.] to whom he dedicates this ſpeech, that he is forced to omit one third part of it for want of *Hebrew* types, which he ſays his Printer had none of; and it is very probable that there were none as yet in *England*, ſince nothing of that nature had

been attempted, that ever I could hear of; no doubt the Author made enquiry whether any ſuch types were in *England*, before he reſolv'd to let it go maim'd of its beſt and moſt curious part. I have ſeen this book, and find the *Arabic* and *Hebrew* types cut on wood.

76. *The*

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76. *The pilgrimage of perfection.* fol. 1531.
77. *The plowman's prayer and complaint.* 1531.
78. *Abby of the Holy Ghost.* 4to. 1531.
79. *Bonaventure's lessons.* 4to. 1532.
80. *Life of Edward the confessor.* 4to. 1533.
81. *Virgil's Bucolica, Lat.* 4to. 1533.
82. *Whitintoni syntaxis.* 8vo. 1533.
83. ——— *de Heteroclitis.* 4to. 1533.
84. *A work for householders and governours of families, &c.* 4to. 1533.
85. *Life of Hildebrande.* 1534.
86. *The Rosary of our Saviour Jesus.* 4to. 1536.

Books Printed by W. de WORDE. without dates.

1. *The life of Joban Picus, earl of Myrandula.*
2. *Bartholom. de proprietatibus, or the proprieties of things.*
3. *Donatus minor ad Anglican. scholar. usum.*
4. *The rose and mirrour of consolation and comfort.* 4to.
5. *Vulgaria Stanbrigi.*
6. *Whitinton. de 8 partib. orat.* 4to.
7. *Quæstiones magistri Alberti de modis significandi, by W. de Worde in Fleet-street.*
8. *Nichodemus's gospel, with other tracts,* 4to.
9. *Gradus comparationis, &c.* 8vo.
10. *The book named the Royal, English'd by Caxton.*
11. *Sermones declamati coram Univer. Cantab. per Steph. Baron.*
12. *A treatise call'd Parvula in Caxton's house.*

13. Ac-

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13. *Accidence. Westmustre. ibid. in Caxton's house. Remov'd into Fleet-street at the Sun.*
14. *A morning remembrance had at the month-mind of the noble Princess Margareth, Countess of Richmond and Derby, Mother to King Henry VII. To which is added a funeral sermon to King Henry VII. his body being present, preached May 10, 1509, by John Lord bishop of Rochester, and printed at the special request of the Countess of Richmond, the mother of the deceased.*
15. *A short treatise of contemplation taught by our Lord Jesus Christ, or taken out of Margery Kempe of Lynn.*
16. *The life of Joseph of Arimatby, taken out of a book found by Theodosius the Emperor in Jerusalem, in the pretory of Pilate.*
17. *The comfort against tribulations.*
18. *Richard Rolle, hermit, of Hampull's contemplation of the dread and love of God; with other divers titles.*
19. *The meditations of St. Bernard.*
20. *A little instruction out of St. Jerom, drawn by Tho. Botton.*
21. *Hornodeus, or the remorse of conscience, a poem.*
22. *The Abbaye of the Holy Ghost, with 29 ghostly ladies in it. [i. e. a good conscience] printed at Westminster.*
23. *The lamentation of our Lady.*
24. *A collection from Gerson and several authors, by Tho. Botton.*
25. *The Bewge of court, a poem.*
26. *Against pestilence, and of infirmities.*
27. *Stans puer ad mensam.*
28. *Bishop Grosbead's treatise of husbandry, or rather a translation of his out of the French.*
29. *The life of Robert the devil, afterwards called the servant of the Lord.*
30. *The*

30. *The history of Jacob and his twelve sons.*
31. *The proverbs of Lydgate, a poem upon the fall of princes.*
32. *King Edward, and Robin Hoode, and Little John.*
33. *The assembly of the gods.*
34. *The merry jest of the Fryer and the Boy.*
35. *How the plowman learn'd his Paternoster, a poem.*
36. *The Churl and the Bird, a poem.*
37. *The Horse, and Sheep, and the Goose, a poem.*
38. *The governal of health.*
39. *The eleven grammars by Winken de Worde.*

THIS curious piece is in the Lord *Pembroke's* library, and has some observations written on a blank page at the beginning, which are to this effect; , The eleven grammars printed by *Winken de Worde*, who , was the 2d Printer in *Westminster*, he lived afterwards within the walls , of *London*, at the sign of the *Sun* in *Fleet-street*. *Richard Pinson*, af- , terwards his worthy successor, and he printed above 40 year-books , which are in *Lincoln's Inn* Manuscript library; they being inscribed , *Libri Manuscripti*. He was son-in-law to *Caxton*, who first printed , at *Westminster* in the Almonry beyond *Westminster-School*. These , eleven grammars were all printed above 100 years before *Lily's* gram- , mar, and appear to be the foundation of his.

WE shall have occasion to give a further account of these year-books, when we come to speak of *R. Pinson*, who continued printing them a considerable time after *Winken de Worde's* death. As for the eleven grammars they are in one volume in the form of a very small quarto and neatly printed, and it is judiciously observed that they were printed above a century before that famous one of *Lilly*, which has been thought (and is still, by those who never heard of this edition,) to be the first grammar that ever was printed in *England*.

FROM

FROM this large catalogue of *Winken de Worde's* works, it is plain that he must have been an indefatigable Printer; and that the chasms that frequently happen in some years must be owing to the books being either lost, or as yet undiscover'd; but more probably the former: and whoever considers that the greatest part of them were either school-books, classics, prayer-books, &c. (besides a vast number of popish ones, which might daily perish soon after the Reformation) and of how short duration the former are in the hands of school-boys and devotees such as that age abounded with, will rather wonder that so great a number of them have escaped the common fate of such performances. So that we may justly conclude, that the preservation of these books is more owing to the character and excellency of the Printer than of the authors, and to the neatness and correctness of the work, rather than the goodness or usefulness of the subject. After he was removed from *Westminster* to *London*, we do not hear of any other Printers at the former; if there were any, they were such whose works and memory in all probability died with, or soon after them.

The City of LONDON, MCCCCLXXXI.

THO' *Richard Pinson* be the first known Printer that set up his Press in this famous city, and all former annalists have ranked it in their list from his first edition, 1493; yet father *Orlandi* has since discover'd to us a much more antient one which was printed in *London*, anno 1481, that is 12 years before the former; which makes me hope that time may still discover more, if not of older date, yet at least to fill up the chasm between this and the first of *Pinson*. For it is scarce to be supposed that *Westminster* should begin so soon to encourage the art, as we have seen in the last article, and that *London* should wholly neglect it. However, be that how it will, it is certain that if it was but slow in receiving it, it made ample amends for it afterwards, and that *Pinson* and *De Worde*, when he removed thither, gave a new life to it; so that in a little time there were several considerable Printing-houses set up in the most convenient parts of this large metropolis, wherein

wherein it has flourished and improved ever since. Some of those eminent Printers received likewise great encouragement from the Crown, particularly by patents for printing of Bibles, and other works, of which I shall give an account under the names of the Printers to whom they were granted.

N.B. As *Caxton* printed all his works in the old letter, and *W. de Worde* in a mix'd character of Roman and Black, we have distinguish'd their works in the two former catalogues, from those that follow, by printing them in Italic: but, as the Roman types became by this time more common, we shall give the list of the following Printers works in that character.

THIS antient and curious edition above mention'd is as follows;
Valdesius super Psalterium Londini. 1481.

I. RICHARD PINSON. Anno MCCCC XCIII.

RICHARD PINSON, *alias* PYNSON, is the first known Printer in the city of *London*, no edition having been hitherto discover'd, except that anonymous one mention'd above, of older date than his dialogue of *Dives and Pauper* in 1493. Besides, as we have about 15 editions of his that are without date, we may more reasonably suppose that they were printed before than after this year, in which he began to put a date. He was brought up under Mr. *Caxton*, as well as *Winken de Worde*, and being become a thorough master of the art, went and set up a Press of his own at *Temple-bar*, as the inscription of his first edition shews. The friendship which he had contracted with *De Worde*, whilst these two wrought under *Caxton*, was so far from being disturb'd by any mutual emulation or rivalry, that it continued to their death; and it is thought that after their master's death, *Pynson* prevail'd upon him to leave *Westminster*, and to come and settle nearer to him, which he accordingly did. What makes this more than probable is, that the last edition of *Caxton* is dated, as we have shewn, anno 1502, and the first that *De Worde* printed in *London*, as far as we have been able to discover, is dated 1503. These two were joined in

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the Printing of the king's year-books, as long as *De Worde* lived, which were afterwards continued by *Pinson*; and this is a sufficient testimony of his having been an excellent Printer, were there nothing else to assure us of it: for it is not to be suppos'd that he would have associated himself to any other. *Pynson* styles himself Printer to the king in some of his editions, probably from a grant he had for the printing of those year-books above mention'd. For we neither find that he printed any bibles, or other books, for which patents were granted by the crown. I don't find that he used any rebus, but he either printed his name at length, or else only the two initial letters R. P. The list of his works is nothing so copious as those of his associate, tho' he continued Printing at least 34 years, as appears from the dates of his first and last edition, which makes me conclude that a great part of them are lost. Those I have been able to recover are as follow;

1. Dialogue of *Dives* and *Pauper* upon The X^e Commandments, emprinted by *Richard Pynson* at Temple-bar of London, V. day of July. } 1493.
2. *Sulpitii Verulamii opus grammaticum*. 4to. } 1494.
3. *Boetius's* Fall of Princes, &c. by *John Lydgate*, Monk of *St. Edmund's* Bury: } 1494.
4. *Gerson's* Imitation of Xt. English'd by *Atkinson*. 4to. } 1503.
5. *Navis frutifera*, or the ship of fools; done into English by *Barclay*. fol. } 1509.
6. *Liber intrationum*. } 1510.
7. An Exposition of the 7 penitential Psalms, compyled by the Ryghte Reverende Fader in God *Johan. Fyffer* D. D. &c. Bp. of *Rocheſter*, at the Exortation and Storyinge of the moſt Excellente Prynceſſe *Margaret*, Counteſſe of *Rychemont* and *Darby*, and Moder to our Sovereaigne Lord King *Henry* the Seventh, on whoſe Soule Jeſu have Mercy. } 1510.
8. *John Beckham*, Arch. Cant. de ſumma Trinitat. & Fide Catbol. 1510.
9. *Colet*,

9. Colet, Dean of Paul's Sermon to the Convocation. Lat. 8vo. 1511.
10. The Hist. Siege & Destruction of Troy, English'd by J. Lidgate, with Cuts. } 1513.
11. Textus Alexandri, &c. 1516.
12. The Kalendre of the newe Legende of Englande, compyled by Master Walter Hylton, empynted at London in Flete-strete, at the signe of the George, by Richard Pynson, Prynter unto the King's Noble Grace, in the Yere of our Lorde God 1516, and endy'd in the last Day of February. } 1516.
13. Guil. Hermain. Vulgaria. 4to. 1519.
14. The Life of St. Verburga. Virg. 4to. 1521.
15. Assertio Septem Sacramentorum adversus Martin. Luther. edita ab invictissimo Angliæ & Franciæ Rege, & de Hybernâ Henrico hujus Nominis octavo. Apud inelytam urbem Londinum in ædibus Pynsonianis, an. M. D. XXI. quarto Idus Julii, Cum privilegio a rege indulto. Editio prima. } 1521.
16. Cutberd's Tonstalis Ars supputandi. 4to. 1522.
17. Froissard's first Volume. 4to. 1523.
18. Powel's Propugnaculum summi Sacerdotii contra Lutherum. 4to. } 1523.
19. Tho. Linacr. de emendata Latini Sermonis structura. 4to. 1524.
20. Froissard's second Volume. 4to. 1525.
21. Whittintoni Vulgaria & de Institutione partium. 4to. 1525.
22. Olde Tenurs newly corrected. 1525.
23. Accidence. 1526.
24. Magna Charta. 8vo. 1527.
25. The Book of John Bochas on the Fall of Princes, English'd. 1527.

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26. *Literarum quibus, &c.* or *K. Henry VIII's Epistolary Answers to Luther.* 8vo. } 1527.

Those that follow are without date.

1. *Salust* translated by *Syr Alexander Barclay*, Priest, at the Commaundement of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*.
2. *Littleton's Teners* newe corrected.
3. *Natura Brevium.*
4. *Tonney's Rules of Grammar, &c.*
5. How yong Scholers now adays emboldened in the Flyblown Blast of the moch wayne glorious pipplying Wind, whan they have delectably lycked a lytell of the lycorous Electurry of lusty Lerynyng, in the moche studious Scole House of scrupulous Philology, countyng themselves Clerkes excellently informed, & transcendingly sped in moche high conyng, & whan they have ones superciliously caught. By *Skelton Poets Laureat.* By *R. Pynson.*
6. *Littleton's Tenures. French.*
7. *Barclay's Figure of Mother Church* oppres'd by the *Fr. King.* 4to.
8. *The Ch. of Evil Men*, where *Lucifer* is head, &c. 8vo.
9. *Henry VIII's Answer to M. Luther.* 8vo.
10. *Bonaventure's Life of J. Christ*, translat. by *Caxton*, & reprinted. fol.
11. *The Life of St. Alborow Virg.* 4to.
12. A Sermon preach'd long ago at *Paul's Cross*, *He that bath Ears to hear, &c.* 4to.
13. *The Mirrour of good Manners, &c.* fol.
14. *Speculum Vitæ Christi*, or *Mirrour of the Life of Christ.*
15. *The Destruction of Hierusalem* by *Vespasian* and *Titus.* Printed by *Richd. Pynson* the King's Printer.

Be-

BESIDES these he printed a considerable number of Year, or Law-Books that pass'd under several Kings Reigns, as was hinted before; some with *Winken de Worde*, and others after his death; some with the dates of the Year and Month in which they were printed, and his name at the end, and some without either. However, it must be observed that a great part of the oldest of them have the name ΓΟΥΛΙΕΛ-ΜΟΥ ΡΑΣΤΕΛΛ (Guilelmus Rastell) written at the head, by which we conjecture that they only printed them for him. For *Rastel* was Printer to the King, and a very considerable person at that time, and in great credit at Court upon the account of his having marry'd Sir *Thomas More's* Sister. So that it is very likely he had the Privilege of printing all these Royal Books, and gave them a sanction by prefixing his name to them, whilst the others only acted under him. What seems to confirm it, is that those earlier ones with *Pynson's* name mention only *Ex Officinâ Pynsonianâ*; whereas in those of later date he calls himself Printer to his Majesty, in which Office he probably succeeded *Rastell*, who died according to *Dr. Nicholson*, an. 1536. Thus at the end of the 2d Edition of that of the 2 of *Edward IV.* We find this Colophon, *Explicit annus 2dus Ed. iiii. Townsend de novo impressus in Academia, &c. ac Impensis honesti viri Richardi Pynson Regii Impressoris.* These Year-Books were of different Bulks, tho' all Folio's, some of them containing but 4 or 5, others 10, 20, 50, and even as far as 90 Sheets. They are as follows;

- Years of *Edward III.* 7th, 21, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43. 2d Edition,
ditto 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50.
—— *Henry VI.* 2, 8, 9, 10, 12, 20, 21, &c.
—— *Edward IV.* 1, 2, 3, &c.
—— *Edward V.* 1.
—— *Richard III.* 2.
—— *Henry VII.* 9.
—— *Henry VIII.* 14.

WHETHER those that are wanting in the List are lost, or were printed by others, we cannot affirm, but more probably the latter; be-
cause.

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cause we find some few printed by *Grafton, &c.* But, as these are only of use to the Lawyers, this Specimen shall suffice. Those who want a more particular account of them, may have recourse to the *Lincoln's-Inn-Library*, where they are carefully preserv'd in a large wooden Chest.

II. WILLIAM FANQUE. MDIV.

William Fanque styles himself the King's Printer in the only Edition I have been able to find of his, *viz.*

Psalterium ex mandato victoriosissimi Angliæ Regis Henrici Septimi.

Per Guillelmum Fanque, Impressorem regium anno MD.III. septimo Februarii.

III. JULIAN NOTARY. MDXV.

We have two Editions of the same work printed by him, *viz.*

1. The Chronicle of *England*, with the fruit of *Tymes*, newly imprinted by me *Julian Notary*, dwelling in *St. Powlis Church-yard*, besyde the *West-dore* by the *Lords Palyses*. fol. in the yere *MCCCCC & XV.* } 1515.
2. The same with *Cuts, &c.* reprinted an. } 1537.

IV. HENRY PEPWELL. MDXXI.

The *Dietary* of ghostly health divided into twenty four Considerations. 4to. *London*, by *Henry Pepwel.* } 1521.

V. PETER TREVERIS. MDXXV.

Who lived in *Southwark*, and subscribed the place of his abode as follows; Dwelling in the sign of the *Wodow's* in *Southwark*. We have but the three following Editions of his.

1. *Jherom* of *Brunswick's* Surgery. fol. } 1525.
2. The *Policronicon* corrected by *Winken de Worde*. fol. } 1527.
3. The great *Hearbal*, with *Cuts*. fol. } 1527.

VI. THO.

VI. THOMAS BERTHELET. MDXXX.

T. BERTHELET was Printer and Bookfeller to K. Henry VIII. had a Patēt for printing the *English* Bible, and some other Books relating to the King's Divorce; the first of which has the following pompous Title.

1. Gravissimæ atque exactissimæ illustrissimarum totius *Italiae* & *Galliae* Academiarum Censuræ, efficacissimis etiam quorundam Doctissimorum Virorum Argumentationibus explicatæ, de Veritate illius propositionis, videlicet; quod ducere Relictam Fratris mortui sine liberis ita sit de Jure Divino & Naturali prohibitum, ut nullus Pontifex super hujusmodi Matrimoniiis contractis sive contrahendis dispensare possit. 1530.
In Officina Thomæ Berthleti Impressoris Regii. 4to. Londini, mense Aprili, An.
2. The same in *English*, translated and published by the King's Command, & printed by T. Berthlet. 1531.
3. The same in *Latin* and *English*. 8vo. by ditto. 1531.
4. The New Additions, by ditto. 1531.
5. *Salem* and *Bizance*, a Dialogue against Sir Tho. Moore's Apology. 8vo. 1533.
6. A Treatise written by *Johan. Valerian*, a greatte Clerke of *Italy*, which is intituled in *Latin*, *pro Sacerdotum Barbis*, translated into *Englyshe*, with a Preface of the Translator to the Reader. 8vo. 1533.
Londin. in Ædibus Tho. Berthleti.

This is a scarce and curious Piece.

At the End of the Book is the Picture of *Lucretia*, with these Words in Capitals, LUCRETIA ROMANA. THOMAS BERTHELETUS. Then follow these Words; Endlofs Grace, Blyffe, Thankyng and Praying our Lord God Omnipotent, by whose Ayde and Helpe this Translation was ended at Berkeley, the vi daye of Fevver, the yere of our Lorde, M CCC LXXXVII. the yere of King Richard the Second after the Conquest XXII. the yere of My Lordes Age Sire Thomas Berkeley, that made me make this Translation XLVII.

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7. De Contemptu Mundi, or Contempt of the World. 8vo. 1533.
8. Sir Thomas Knight's Translation of Cyprian's Sermon on Mor- } 1534.
tality. 8vo.
9. Additions to Salem & Bizance. 8vo. 1534.
10. Matthews's Sermon at St. Paul's 8vo. 1535.
11. Barthol. de Proprietatibus Rerum. Cum Privilegio a Rege } 1535.
indulto. Translated into *English*. fol.
12. Dives & Pauper, a Dialogue on the 10 Comm. reprinted. } 1536.
8vo.
13. Comparison of a Virgin and a Marry'd Woman. 8vo. 1537.
14. Sturmius's Epistle to the Cardinals and Bishops of Rome. 8vo. 1538.
15. A Treatise, that by the King's Laws the Bishops of Rome } 1538.
have no Supremacy in *England*. 8vo.
16. The Most Sacred Byble, which is the holy Scripture, con- }
teyning the Old and New Testament, translated into *Eng-
lish*, and newly recognised with great diligence after most
faithful Exemplars by Richard Taverner. Dedicated to K.
Henry VIII. with decent Humility. Prynted at London in
Fleet street at the sygne of the *Sonne*, by John Byddel for } 1539.
Thomas Barthlet.
At the End are these Words;
To the honour and praise of God was this Byble prynted
and fynished in the yere of our Lorde God. M D XXXIX.
A very scarce Edition.
17. St. Cyprian's Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, &c. 8vo. 1539.
18. Henry Ld. Parker's Declaration of the 94th Psalm. 8vo. 1539.
19. Tonstal, Bishop of Duresm's Sermons. 8vo. 1539.
20. Of Guaccum Wood against the French Pox, Stone, and } 1539.
Gout, 8vo.

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21. *R. Taverner's* Recognition of the Bible. fol. 1539.
22. *Frontine's* Stratagems of War, *Engliſh'd.* 8vo. 1539.
23. The neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſten Man, &c. 1543.
24. *Cope's* Hiſtory of *Hannibal* and *Scipio.* 4to. 1544.
25. *St. Tho. Eliot's* Banquet of Sapience. 8vo. 1545.
26. *Ant. Giſbie's* Answer to *Steph. Gardiner*, Bp. of *Wincheſter.* 8vo. 1547.
27. *Erasmus's* Sermon on God's Mercy. 8vo. 1547.

The following are without date.

1. *Dean Colet's* Sermon to the Convocation. 8vo.
2. *Tho. Starkey's* Exhortation to the People to Unity, &c.
3. A Dialogue between a Knight and a Clarck about Power.
4. *Erasmus's* treatiſe on *Pater Noſter.* *Engliſh'd* by a Young *Wm.* 19 Years old. 4to.
5. *Ricardi Sampſonis* Regii Sacelli Decani Oratio contra Papam. 4to. in Pergam.

VII. WILLIAM RASTEL, Printer to the King, as was mention'd before, was an eminent Citizen of *London*, and a good Hiſtorian. We find an *Engliſh* Chronicle of his quoted by *Athen. Oxoniens.* *John Petit*, and other antient Hiſtorians, but now loſt, in Dr. *Nicholſon's* Opinion. He liv'd in *St. Bride's* Church-Yard, *Fleet-ſtreet.* MDXXX.

1. A Dialogue of *Sir Tho. More* touching the peſtilent doctrine of *Luther* and *Tyndal.* Prented by *Willyam Raſtel.* fol. } 1530.
Lond.
2. *Regiſtrum Omnium brevium tam Originalium quam judici-* }
alium. *Londini* apud *Guillelmum Raſtel.* Cum privilegio. } 1531.

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At the Beginning of the Book are these Words printed in Capitals;
Hunc librum Regiis litteris ne quis alius in hoc Regno impune imprimat infra septennium cautum est.

At the End of the Book thus;

Thus endyth thys Book callyd the Regyfter of the Wrytyngs orygynal and judycyal. Prentyd at *London* by *Wyllyam Rastell*, and it is to sell in *Fleet street*, at the house of the sayde *Wyllyam*, or in *Poulys Chyrch yarde*, or els at *Temple-bar*, at the house of *Robert Redman*. Cum privilegio.

3. The second part of the Confutation of Tyndal's Answer by }
Sir Tho. More. Prentyd by *W. Rastel*. fol. 1533.
4. *Fabyan's Chronycle* newly prentyd. Cum privilegio. 1533.
5. A merry Play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Cu- }
rate and Neighbour *Patte*. 4to. 1533.
6. The Apologye of Syr *Thomas More* Knyght. 1533.

Without date.

1. *German Gardiner's* Letter against *John Fryth* lately burnt. 8vo.
2. A New Commoditye in *Englysh*, in manner of an interlude, ryght elegant and full of Craft and Rethoryke, wherein is shew'd and descrybed as well the Bewte and good properties of Women as their Vices.

VIII. ROBERT REDMAN, against St. *Dunstan's* Church in *Fleet-street*. MDXXXIII.

1. A playne and godly Exposition or Declaration of the Crede, }
(which in the *Latin* tongue is called *Symbolum Apostolorum*) }
and of the X Commandementes of Goddes Law.

Newly

Newly made and put forth by the famousse Clerke May-
ster ERASMUS of *Roterdame*. At the Requeste of the
moste honorable Lorde, *Thomas Erle of Wylshyre*: Father to
the most gracious and vertuous Quene *Anne*, Wyf to our
most gratyous Lorde Kinge *Henry the viii.* Cum privilegio. } 1533.

At the End thus;

Imprinted at *London* in *Flete strete* by me *Robert Redman*,
dwellynge at the signe of the *George*, next to Saynt *Dun-*
stone's Church. Cum privilegio Regali.

2. *Otho* and *Othobone's* Provincial Constitutions. 8vo. 1534.
3. Mirrour of Xt's Passion, translated by *John Fruterer*. fol. 1534.
4. Sum of Xtianity out of the Scriptures. 8vo. 1536.
5. *Erasmus* in *Latin* and *Englisb*. 4to. 1538.
6. *Magna Carta* in *French*, whereunto is added more Statuts
than ever was imprinted in any one Boke before this tyme:
with an Alminacke & a Calender to know the Mootes.
Necessarie for all young Studiers of the Lawe.

At the End thus,

Here endeth *Magna Charta*, and divers other Statutes.
Imprinted at *London* in *Fleetstreet* by me *Robert Redman*
dwellynge at the fygne of the *George* next to Saynt *Dun-*
stones Church. 1539. in 12mo. in the Front 1529.

7. *John Standish* against the Protestation of *Robert Barnes* at
the time of his Death, by the Widow of *Robert Redman*. } 1540.

Without date.

1. Confession exhibited by the *Germans* to the Emperör *Charles V.*
with *Milington's* Apology for it. 8vo.
2. Of the Lives of Priests, Canons, Clerks, and Church-Ministers. 8vo.

Z.z

3. Ser-

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3. Sermon on the Child Jesus. 8vo.
4. Lantorn of Light. 8vo.
5. A Book of Medicine of King Boetius. 4to.
6. *Littletons* Tenures.
7. The Paradox of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, translated lately out of the Latin Tongue into English by Robert Whittinton Poet Laureat.
8. *Tho. Moulton* Doctoure of Dyvynyte, of the Order of *Frere-Prea-chours* Myrrour or Glasse of Helthe, necessary for every persone to look in that will kepe theyr body frome Syckness of the Pestilence. 8vo.

The Author tells us that he wrote this Treatise whilst the plague raged.

9. *Returna Brevium, vel si mavis, Rescripta Vice Comitum eum aliis scitū digniorib⁹.* 8vo.

At the End, *Rob. Redman me fecit.*

10. *Littleton's* Tenures.
11. A Work for Housholders, by *Rich. Whitford*.
12. The Year-Books printed by him are as follows ;

24 of <i>Edward III.</i>	25 Sheets $\frac{1}{2}$
40 —————	26

 And above 30 more.

At the End are the Words following ;

Imprimé a *Londres* par moy *Robert Redman* le X. jour de *Marche*
l'an de grace M CCCCC XXXIII. Cum privilegio Regali.

IX. JOHN BYDDEL. M D XXXIV.

JOHN BIDDEL is the Printer mention'd above, p. 360. who printed the great *English Bible* for *Berthelet* ; his Printing-house was at the sign of our Lady of *Pise* next to *Fleet-bridge* : his *Rebus* was a Heart pierc'd with

with a double Crofs, on each fide of which within were the two initial letters of his name I. B. to which he fometimes added his name at length, JOHN BIDDEL.



1. Of the olde God and the new, of the olde Fayth and the newe, of the olde Doctryne and the newe, or the original Begynning of Idolatry; imprinted at London by John Byddle, at the Sign of our Lady of Pife, &c. M VC XXXIIIJ. the XX day of June. 1534.
2. *Rob. Whittingtonus* de nominum Gener. 4to. 1536.
3. A Bible in *Engl.* fol. Printed by him for *Berthelet*. 1539.
4. Of the olde and new God, olde and new Fayth, &c. 8vo. 1539.
5. *Cupitb's* Prayers and Meditations on the *Pfalms*, *Eng.* 8vo. 1539.
6. A Chronicle of Yeres from the beginning of the World, wherein ye shall find of al the Kinges of *England*, of the Mayrs & Shiriffs of the Citie of *London*, & briefly of many notable Actes done in & fith the reigne of Kyng *Henry* the fourth, newly augmented & corrected, *Anno Domini*, M VC XLII. by John Biddle. 1542.

Without date.

1. *John Roberts* Master of Schismaticke Bps. of *Rome*. 8vo.
2. A Book of Feasts Royal and Cookery for Princes. 4to.
3. *Accidentia* ex *Stanbrigiana* Editione nuper recognita a *Whittingtono* Laureato.
4. A Seraphick Dirige of 7 Secrets granted to St. *Francis*. 8vo.
5. The Lives of Pope *Hildebrand* and *Henry* IV. Emperour of *Germany*. 8vo.

X. ROBERT WYRE. MDXXXV.

He lived at the sign of Saynt *John the Evangelyste* in Seynt *Martyn's* Paryshe in the Filds besyde *Charynge-Cross*, in the Byshop of *Norwytche's* Rents, as he says himself, and used to subscribe some of his Works, especially the Year-Books, with his name in large Capitals thus, ROBERT WYRE.

We have but one Piece of his that bears a sure Date, which is as follows ;

1. The Deffence of Peace, lately translated out of *Latin* into *Englyshe* : with the Kynges moste gracious priviledge. *The Author, Marsilius of Padway. Imprynted and published, and set forth abrode in the Englishe tonge by Wylliam Marshal, who prays for our Soveraigne Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight, of his most vertuous Lady Quene Anne, and of the Lady Pryncest Elyzabeth, Daughter and Heyre to them both.*

1535.

N. B. This Book appears by its date to have been published about the time when King Henry 8. had resolv'd to break with the Court of Rome At the End are these Words ;

Prynted by me Robert Wyer for Wylliam Marshal, &c. with the King's priviledge for 6. years.

2. The Debates between the Heralds of *England* and *Fraunce*, compyled by *Jn. Coke*, Clarke of the Kyng's Recognysances, or vulgarly called Clarke of the Statutes of the Staple of *Westmynster*, and finished in the year of our Lorde MDL. At the End as follows ;

1550.

Finished by me *John Coke* le dernier jour Doctobre den yaer ons here duissent venf hundred negen en viertick (that is thousand five hundred and forty nine.) Finis Laudat opus. Imprinted by me R. Wyer, &c.

With

at L O N D O N.

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Without date.

3. Ten Places of Scripture against the Traditions of Men. 8vo.
4. Wm. Hunnis Abridgement of Meditat. on certain Psalms in meter. 8vo.
5. *Antithesis* comparing the Word of God and Mens Inventions. by Tb. Beacon. 8vo.
6. *Antidotarius* or the way of making Salves, Ointments, &c. 8vo.
7. *Macer's Herbal*. 8vo.
8. Tb. *Linacre*. M. D. Compend. regimen of Health used at *Montpelier*.
9. The Castle of Love, translated out of *Spanyshe* into *Englyshe*, by John Bowrchier Knyght, Lord Bernes, at the Instance of the Lady Elyzabeth Carew, which book treateth of Love betwene *Leriano* and *Laureola* Daughter to the Kinge of *Masedonia*.
10. The Breviary of Healthe.
11. The Signs in the Zodiac.
12. *Erra Pater*.
13. A Piece of *Tycho Brahe* upon the Heavens.
14. A Year-Book for the 9th of Henry IV. printed by Robert Wyre dwellynge at the sygne of St. John the Evangelyst, &c.

XI. THOMAS GIBSON. MDXXXVI.

A Treatise against the Pestilence, written by a Danish Bp. & } 1536.
Phisician. 4to.

XII. JAMES NICHOLSON, at Southwark. MDXXX.

1. Exposition on the 1. 2. & 3 Canonical Epistles of St. John. } 1537.
8vo.

2. The

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2. The New Testament both in *Latin* and *Englyshe*, eche correspondent to the other after the Vulgare Texte communely called St. *Jerome's*, faithfully translated by *Johan. Hollybushe*. } 1538.
By *James Nicholson* dwellyng in *Southwarke*.

3. *Invectives* against Cardinal *Wolsey*, by *L. R.* at *Wesel*. 1546.

N. B. *Maunsel* affirms it to have been printed by *Nicholson*; no doubt but he compar'd it with some other of his Works, and it is certain that nothing was more common in those ticklish times than to date any dangerous Book from some place abroad, or to inscribe it printed ———— beyond Sea.

4. A Treatise of Measuring, without date.

The Title runs thus,

This Book sheweth the manner of Measuring of all manner of Land, as well of Woodlande, as of Land in the Felde, and comptynge the true Nombre of Acres of the same, By Syr *Richard Benese*, Chanon of *Marton Abbay* besyde *London*.

Printed in *Southwarke* by *James Nicholson*.

XIII. THOMAS PETIT. MDXXXVIII.

1. *Longland Bp.* of *Lincoln's* Sermon before the King. 4to. 1538.
2. *Treasure* of poor men, a Book of good Medicine. 8vo. 1540.
3. St. *Bernard's* fruitful Treatise of living well. Translated by *Th. Paynel*. 8vo.
4. *Chaucer's* Works dedicated to *Henry VIII.* no date.

XIV. JOHN WAYLAND. MDXXXVIII.

1. *Nicholas Wise's* Chrystian Consolation. 8vo. 1538.
2. *James Chancellor's* Path to Obedience.
3. The Tragedies of *John Bochas*, translated into *Englyshe* by *John Lydgate*, Monke of *Bury*. } without date.

XV. RICHARD GRAFTON. MD XXXIX.

RICHARD GRAFTON, Citizen of *London*, from an indifferent Author and Historian, became a famous and eminent Printer. Among other of his works under the former character, we have his Abridgement of the Chronicle of *England*, in which he is a constant borrower from the bulkier work of *Edward Hall* Recorder of *London*, who wrote the History of the Wars between the Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, wherein the Reader will find little worth notice, if we may believe Dr. *Nicholson*, than the fashions and changes of Dress in each King's Reign. As *Grafton* was not over judicious in the choice of this Author, so neither was he in the compiling of his Abridgement; in so much that the learned *Buchanan*, in his History of *Scotland*, doth not scruple to call him a very headless and unskilful Writer, tho' he has had the honour of being quoted by *Stow*, and other Historians.

THE occasion of his turning Printer was his being pitch'd upon to procure an Edition of *William Tyndal*, alias *Hickins* Version of the New Testament, and afterwards of his Bible revised and corrected by *Myles Coverdal*, a learned *Franciscan* Fryar, well learned in the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. Some impressions of the former had already been dispersed about *England* and elsewhere, but were bought up by *Tonstal* Bishop of *London*, and *Sir Thomas More*, and been burnt at *St. Paul's Cross*; and it was very dangerous to undertake the reprinting of such a work in *London* upon that account. This made *Grafton* and his associate *Edward Whitchurch* resolve to get it done at *Hamburg*, whither they likewise sent *Coverdal* to correct the Press. This proved a very expensive work, and the impression of the Bible alone cost them 500*l.* a great sum in those days. When it was brought over into *England*, it met with great opposition from the *Romish* Priests, they having some time before obtain'd a Royal Proclamation, to prohibit and abolish that among other heretical books; and, had not *Bonner* Bishop of *Hereford* bought up the greatest part of the Copies in order to destroy them, the undertakers must have been infallibly ruin'd. This Edition is suppos'd to have been printed anno 1535.

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H i s

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HIS New Testament met with worse fate, of which we have an authentick testimony extant in the Library of the Honourable Earl of *Pembroke*, viz. two Editions of it printed at *Antwerp* in the same year, viz. anno 1434, one of which has a Preface prefix'd to it, to justify that Edition, from the other of the same year printed under his name, but strangely mutilated and misprinted. A more particular account of which is given in the Introduction to *Wickliff's Bible* lately publish'd.

FINDING that a version of the Bible was as much desir'd by the favourers of the Reformation, as it was cry'd down by the enemies of it, they ventur'd to print a second edition of it under the patronage of Archbishop *Cranmer* and the Lord *Cromwell*. But *Tyndal* having been by that time burnt as a heretick in *Flanders*, and his name growing then somewhat ignominious, they thought fit to publish it under the name of *Matthews's Bible*, tho' *Tyndal* is affirm'd to have finish'd all but the *Apocrypha* as some, or as far as *Nehemiah*, as others affirm. *Grafton* having finish'd the printing of it presented it to his two great Patrons, by whom, at his request, it was likewise presented to the King to whom it was dedicated. It had these words in red letters printed at the bottom of the title-page *set forth with the King's most gracious licence*. But, as they were suspected to have been foisted in, *Grafton* obtain'd leave to have it further licens'd under the privy seal. Soon after this it being observed how acceptable an *English Bible* was to the people, some persons form'd a design to print it in a smaller volume, in order to undersell *Grafton's*, which oblig'd him to apply to *Cromwell*, and to obtain a patent from the King, that none should print it for three years; and for the better sale of this, that noble man did likewise procure him an order that every Curate of a parish should be oblig'd to have one, and every Abby six of them; so that this second impression, wherever printed, was very soon bought up.

GRAFTON and his partners in the work observing that there was still a call for them, resolv'd to reprint it a third time, and in a larger volume, but without these notes and prologues which they observ'd had given some offence. *Paris* was the place pitch'd upon to print it at, and *Cromwell*, who favour'd the enterprize, procur'd letters from King *Henry* to the *French King*, to permit a subject of his to print the *English Bible*

Bible in the university of Paris, because of the goodness of the French paper and workmen. Bonner, then Ambassador from England to the Court, had likewise orders to assist the undertakers of that good work in all reasonable suits. Bonner obtain'd not only the desir'd licence, but likewise letters patents for printing this Bible, and for conveying it safe over to England. This edition, being thus encourag'd, went briskly on to the end; but Bonner, who never liked the work, and did only promote it to make his court to Cromwell, found means to obstruct it privately, notwithstanding the King's patents.

ACCORDINGLY, anno 1438, the Printers were taken up, and charged with heresy, by order of the Faculty, and Coverdale the corrector, Grafton the Head Printer, and other *Englishmen*, who contributed to the charges of the impression, were sent for; but they foreseeing the consequences, fled away as fast as they could, and left the whole impression which was just finish'd, and consisted of 2500 Copies, behind them. This was immediately seiz'd by the Lieutenant Criminal, and order'd to be burnt, except some few which he sold, through covetousness, for waste-paper, which were afterwards bought up again, being about four fathoms or chests full.

My Lord Pembroke favour'd me with the sight of an *English Bible* printed in *Gothic* characters, an. 1537. without place or Printer's name, with these words at the end;

The end of the New Testament, and of the whole Byble.

¶ To the Honoure and Prayse of Gode was this Byble prynted and fyneshed in the yere of oure Lorde Gode. a M D XXXVII.

BUT whether this is one of them that were printed at *Paris*, or one of the former edition I cannot determine; but it is more probable to be the latter, because it has a Concordance of the most remarkable texts of Scripture against the errors of Popery: whereas, as I observ'd before, they had suppress'd most things of that nature in the *Paris* one. But let this be of what edition it will, it is very probable that the Concordance proved the cause of the almost total destruction of it, in so much that I question whether there be any other copy of it left except this above mention'd. However, Grafton and his associates, by Crom-

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well's encouragement, went soon after to *Paris*, and got the presses, letters and workmen, and brought them over to *London*, and so set up for Printers themselves, which they never intended before, and began to reprint the same Bible, which they finish'd in 1537; an account of which you'll find in the following list of *Grafton's* works.

We find a patent in *Rymer's fœdera*, vol. 17. p. 766. from King *Henry VIII.* appointing him and his partner *Whitchurch* to print the Book of divine service; but, as I have not been able to meet with the Book, I have not inserted it in the list. The patent is dated *Jan. 3. 1543.* *Grafton* styled himself *Typographus Regius.* His mark or sign was an Apple-tree springing up out of a Tun, or Ton, as they spell'd it then, alluding to his name *Graft-ton*, with this motto *suscipite insitum verbum*, *Jacob. 1.* He had likewise a Cypher over the Tun, with the two initials of his name one in another thus.



His works are as follows.

1. The New Testament in *English* and *Latin.* 8vo. *London,* } 1439.
printed by *Rich. Grafton* and *Ed. Whitchurch.*
2. The Bible in *English*, that is to say, the contents of all the holy scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, truly translated out of the veryty of the *Hebrew* and *Greke textes*, by the dyligent studye of dyvers excellent learned men, expert in the foresayd tongues. Printed by *Richard Grafton* and *Edward Whitchurch.* Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. fol. *At the end is as follows;* } 1539.
Fynished in *Apryll, Anno M CCCC XXXIX.*
The Title is adorn'd with a noble piece of History, supposed to be done by *Holbein*, of King *Henry 8.* Archbishop *Cramer*, and Vicar-general *Cromwell*, with their Coats of Arms. }
3. The Primmer in *Latin* and *English.* 4to. Printed in the precinct of the dissolved house of Grey Fryars, by *Richard Grafton*, Printer to the Prince's Grace the VI. day of *Sep-temb. M D XLIII.* Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. } 1543.
4. *Plu-*

4. *Plutarch's Precepts for the preservation of health.* 8vo. 1543.
5. The Chronicle of *John Hardyng, &c.* with a Supplement in prose. *Londini ex officina Ric. Graftoni, mense Januario.* } 1543.
6. The Answer of *Charles fift, Emperour*, ever more *August*, unto the Letters Convocatory of *Paule the thyrde bishop of Rome*, concerning a general Councel to be celebrated at *Trident.* 1543. *Ex officina Rich. Graftoni* 8vo. } 1543.
With a remarkable Preface to the Reader.
7. The Primer in *Englisch* and *Latin.* 4to. Printed in the precincts of the dissolved house of Grey Fryars, by *Richard Grafton*, Printer to the Prince's Grace the VI. day of *Sept.* MD XLV. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. } 1545.
8. An Abridgement of *Polidore Virgil* of the Divisers, &c. of Artes, by *T. Langley.* } 1546.
9. *Philip Gerard's* Invective against stopping the free passage of the *Englisch* Bible. 8vo. } 1547.
10. Certain Homilies or Sermons appoynted by the King's Majesty to be redde by all Persons, Vicars, or Curates, every Sondaye in their Churches where they have Cure. 4to. } 1543.
11. Articles to be enquired into in the Visitation to be had within the Diocese of *Canterbury*, in the second yere of the Reign of our most dred Sovereigne Lord *Edward VI.* by the Grace of God King of *England, Fraunce* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and in the Yearth of the Church of *England*, and also of *Ireland* the supreme Hedde. 4to. } 1548.
12. Expedition into *Scotland* of the most worthy fortunate Prince *Edward* Duke of *Somerset*, Uncle to our most noble Sovereign Lord *Edward VI.* &c. by way of *Diarie*, by *W. Paten.* } 1548.
13. Alcoran of the Barefoot-Fryars. 8vo. 1550.
14. *John*

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14. *John Marbeck's Concordance of the Bible.* fol. 1550.

15. *Hall's Chronicle.* fol. 1550.

Besides a number of Year-Books.

XVI. EDWARD WHITCHURCH. MDXXXIX.

HE was also one of the King's Printers, and a famous one. We have mention'd him already in the last article, as having printed,

1. *Coverdale's New Testament Lat. & Engl.*

2. *The English Bible.* fol. with *Rich. Grafton.*

The rest of his Works are as follows;

3. *Earl of Purlilia's Precepts of War.* *Englsh'd by Philip Be-* } 1544.
tham. 8vo.

4. *A Treatise of Moral Philosophy, containing the Sayings of*
the Wise, gathered and Englyshed by Wylliam Baldwyn. } 1547.
London, Imprinted by Edward Whitchurch, the 10. day of
January. 8vo.

5. *Christ. Langton's Treatise of Naturals and Non-naturals, &c.* } 1547.
8vo.

6. *Melancton upon weighing & considering the Interim.* *Eng-* } 1548.
lish'd by John Rogers. 8vo.

7. *Paraphrase on St. Paul's Epistles and Revelations, by seve-* } 1549.
ral hands. fol.

8. *The Booke of the Common Prayer and administration of*
the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the
Church; after the use of the Church of England. } 1549:
Londini in Officina Edouardi Whitchurch, cum privilegio ad
imprimendum solum. Anno Do. 1549, Mense Junii.

The

The King's Majestie by
the advise of his most dear Uncle the Lord Pro-
tector, & other his highness's Counsell, strictly
chargeth & commaundeth, that no manner
of Person do sell this present booke
bounde, above the price of ii Shyl-
lynges & ii pence the piece. And
the same bounde in paste or
in boordes, not above the
price of three Shyl-
lynges & viii
pence the
piece.

God save the King.

Imprinted at *London* in *Fleet-street*, at the
signe of the Sunne over against
the Conduyte by *Edward Whitchurch*,
the xxvi daye of *June*, the year of our Lord
1549.

9. Epistle of Consolation and Advertisment to the Duke of
Somerset before his troubles, and translated by him in his } 1550.
Imprisonment. 8vo.
10. *Edmund Allen's* Catechism. 8vo. } 1550.
11. Form of Common Prayer used at *Geneva*, with *Calvin's* } 1550.
Catechism. 8vo.
12. Paraphrase on the Gospels and Acts. *English'd* by *N. Udal*. } 1550.
fol.

XVII. WILLIAM MIDDLETON. MDXXXIXI.

Richard Whitford, a Brother of *Sion*, his Treatise on Pati-
ence, and the Lets and Impediments to Perfection, 4to. } 1541.
Imprinted at *London* by me *Wylliam Middleton*.

XVIII.

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XVIII. JOHN MAYLER. MDXXXIXII.

1. A Sermon, that no Man can be hurt but by himself. 8vo. 1542.
2. Necessary Doctrine & Erudition for a Christen Man. By the King. 8vo. } 1543.

XIX. JOHN DAY. MDXXXIXVI.

He was a curious and diligent Printer; how soon he began to print is not easy to guess, because I find several of his editions without date. He continued printing till the year 1575; however, I shall carry the list of his works no farther than 1550.

1. *R. Crowley's* Confutation of *Nich. Saxton*, Bishop of *Sarum*. 8vo. London } 1546.
2. A godly Meditation upon xx select and chosen Psalms of the Prophet *David*, &c. 4to. By *Sir Ant. Cope*. Dedicated to *Queene Catherine*. } 1547.
3. Heavenly Acts of Parliament made by Father, Son and Holy Ghost, how Men ought to live. 8vo. } 1547.
4. *John Bancroft's* translation of the *Basil Preacher's* Answer. By *J. Day* and *W. Seres*. } 1548.
5. Confutation of *Miles Hoggard's* Ballads in defence of Transubstantiation. 8vo. by *J. Day* and *W. Seres*. } 1548.
6. A simple and religious Consultation about making a present Reformation till God send a better by a general Council, &c. } 1548.
7. *Fr. Lambert's* Judgment against the Freedom of Man's Will. 8vo. } 1548.
8. *Rob. Hutton's* Sum of Divinitie. } 1548.
9. A Warning against the Anabaptists. 8vo. by *J. Day* and *W. Seres*. } 1549.
10. *St. Austin's* 12 Steps to Abuses, by *J. Day* and *W. Seres*. 1550.
11. An

11. An Apology of *Johan. Bale* agaynste a rank Papist, answering both him and his Doctors, that neyther their Woves, nor yet their Priesthood, are of the Gospel but of Anti-christ. 8vo. } 1550.
12. Homilies on the 6th of St. *John*. 8vo. } 1550.
13. Confession of the Christian Faith, with respect to God, the King, &c. 4to. } 1550.
14. Exposition of *Daniel's* Prophecies out of *Melington*, &c. 1550.

Without date.

1. Expostulation against a phrentic Papist of *Hamshire*. 8vo.
2. *Basil* the Great to *Gregory Nazianzen* about a Monastic Life.
3. 25 Sermons on Predestination. *Englisht* by a Gentlewoman. 8vo.
4. Communication between a poor Man and his Wife, &c. 8vo.
5. Brief Exhortation in the time of Visitation.
6. Auncient Testimonies about the Faith of the Church of *England* about the Sacrament. 8vo.
7. A verie familiare and fruitefull Exposition of the Apostles Crede, made in Dialogues, wherein thou maiste learne all Things necessarie to be beleved, Compyled by *Peter Viret* a Frenchman, and translated into *Englishe*. 8vo.
8. *Thomas Norton's* Warning against the dangerous practices of Papists, and specially the Parteners of the late Rebellion. *Lond.* by *John Day*, no date, but supposed to be printed about the year 1549. 4to.

XX. JOHN HERTFORD. M D XXXIXVI.

at St. *Alban's*.

He printed at first at St. *Alban's*, and we have two editions of his printed there, one without date, and the other done in 1538, of which

B b b

we

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we need not give any further account here. What I have been able to recover of his Works, after he removed to *London*, is as follows;

1. *Richard Smith*, D. D. Defence of the Sacrament of the Mass. } 1546.
8vo. *London*.
2. *Stephen Gardner* Bysshoppe of *Wynchester's* Declaration of }
such true Articles as *George Joye* has gone about to confute } 1546.
as false. 4to.

Without date.

1. *St. Jerom's* Exposition. Printed at *London* in *Aldersgate-street*, by *John Hertforde* for *Robert Toy*.
2. The Epistles and Gospels, in 4to. by *John Hertforde* in *Aldersgate-street*.

The following was printed by his Widdow.

The Censure and judgement of the famous Clark *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam*; whyther Dyvoursemente betwene Man and Wyfe stondeth with the law of God, with dyvers Causes wherefore it is permitted; with the mynde of the olde Doctours, &c. *London*, Prynted by the Wydowe of *John Hertforde* for *Robert Stoughton*, without date. 8vo.

XXI. ROBERT TOY. MDXXXIXVI.

1. *Stephen Gardner* Bishop of *Winchester's* Declaration of such }
true Articles as *George Joy* hath gone about to confute as } 1546.
false. 4to.
2. Detection of the Devil's Sophistry, &c. 8vo. } 1546.
3. Of the Resurrection of the Dead, and last Judgment, by } 1547.
John Clarke. 4to.

Without date.

4. The Workes of *Geffray Chaucer* newly printed, with dyvers workes whiche were never in Print before.

Imprinted at *London* by *Robert Toy*. fol.

N. B.

N.B. There was afterwards a much fuller Edition of Chaucer's Works publish'd by John Stowe, and printed by John Kyngston for John Wight, in 1561. fol.

XXII. NICHOLAS HILL. MDXLVI.

John Clark's Declaration of certain Articles and capital Errors, &c. 8vo. } 1546.

XXIII. WILLIAM SERES. MDXLVI.

WILLIAM SERES was a very eminent Printer, curious and correct; but he was much excell'd by his Successor and Assignee Henry Denham, who kept the sign of the *Star* in *Pater-Noster-Row*, and became an extraordinary Master of his Art, not only for his wonderful Correctness, but for the beauty of his Types, whether *Greek*, *Roman*, *Italic*, or *Gothic*, of which he had a great variety of sizes as neat and beautiful as any now in use. I have seen a Dictionary of his printed in 1580, under the title of *An Alviarie* (Beehive) or a quadruple Dictionarie in *Greek*, *Latin*, *French*, and *English*; which I think a masterpiece of art for beauty and correctness, as well as great rarity for its order, method, and disposition, it being the only one of that kind I ever met with.

As for *William Seres* he lived without *Aldersgate*, and went partner in some works with *John Day*, and in some with *Ant. Scholoker*; as the list of his works doth shew, which is as follows.

1. *Robert Crowley's* Confutation of *Shaxton's* Recantation. Printed by *W. Seres* & *J. Day*. } 1546.
2. *Bancroft's* Translation of the *Basil Divines* on the Lord's Supper. By ditto } 1548.
3. Confutation of *Miles Hoggard's* Ballad in defence of Transubstantiation. By ditto. } 1548.
4. *Peter Viret's* Collection of Scriptures which explain the Lord's Prayer. 8vo. By *Seres* & *A. Scholoker*. } 1548.

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5. A Warning against the Anabaptists. 8vo. with *Day*. 1549.
6. St. *Austin's* 12 Steps to Abuses, &c. 8vo. ditto. 1550.

Without date.

7. The Tryal, Examination, & Death of Sir *John Oldcastle*. 8vo. with *A. Scholoker*.
8. Private Prayers for every Day of the Week, first printed in King *Edward's* days. 8vo.
9. The right Institution of Baptism, by *Herman* Archbp. of *Cologne*. By *Anthony Scholoker* & *Wylliam Seres*, dwelling wythout *Aldersgate*.

XXIV. REYNOLD WOLF. MDXLVII.

He was chosen Printer to the King (*Edward IV.*) for the *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin* tongues. His Patent, which is extant in *Rymer's Fædera*, 15 Vol. p. 150, is dated from *Westminster*, April 19, 1547. But I have not been able to meet with any thing done by him in any of those learned languages. His other works are as follows.

1. Dr. *Smith's* Declaration upon his Retraction at St. *Paul's* } 1547.
Cross. 8vo.
2. A Deffence for Marriage of Priests by Scripture and auncient Writers, before the Bishop of Rome by his wicked decrees ordeined the contrary; made by *John Pouel*, Doctour of Divinite. Imprinted at London, by *Reynold Wolf*. Cum } 1549.
fereniffimi Regis privilegio. 8vo.
3. Ant. *Corvinus's* Postils on the Gospels of Sundays & Holy-days. 4to. } 1550.
4. *Coverdale's* New Testament conferr'd with that of *W. Tyndal*. 8vo. } 1550.
5. Defence of the Catholick Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood, &c. 4to. } 1550.
6. Injunctions of *Nicholas Ridley* Bishop of *London* to his Diocese. 4to. } 1550.

With-

Without date.

1. Advertisements partly for the order of publick prayer, and partly for regulating the Ministers apparel. 4to.
2. An Answer to Doctour *Smith's* Calumnyes in his confutation of the said book. 8vo.

XXV. WILLIAM POWEL. MDXLVII.

At the sygne of the *George*, next to *St. Dunstan's* Church,
in *Fleet-street*.

1. A Treatise of Justification by Faith, translated by *Nich. Lesse*. 8vo. } 1547.
2. The Fall of the late *Arrian*. 8vo. } 1549.
3. The Voice of the People against such Parsons, as fly away from their Cures. 8vo. } 1549.
4. *St. Augustin* to *Pollentius* against adulterous Marriages. 8vo. } 1550.
5. *Anto. Ascham's* Treatise of Astronomy, and of Medicines under each planet. 8vo. } 1550.
6. Proverbs or Adagies gathered out of the *Cbiliades* of *Erasmus*, by *Richard Taverner*, as well *Latyn* proverbs as *Englyshe*. London, Imprinted by *Willyam Powel* XX day of *April*. anno MDL. } 1550.
7. The A B C set forth by the King's Majesty (*Hen. viij*) & his Clergy, & commanded to be taught out all his Realm, and all other utterly set apart, as the Teachers thereof tender his Grace's favour. 8vo. London, by *Willyam Powell*. without date.

XXVI. HUMPHREY POWEL. MDXLVIII.

1. The Harvest is at hand. By *John Champneis*. 8vo. } 1548.
2. The Sin & abominable Blasphemy of the Mafs. 8vo. } 1548.
3. *John*.

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3. *John Proctor's Fall of the late Arrian.* 8vo. 1549.
4. *The ordinary fashion of good living.* 8vo. no date.

XXVII. GUALTER LINNE. MDLXVIII.

1. *Richard Bonner's Treatise of worshipping Christ in the Sacrament.* 8vo. } 1548.
2. *Archbp. Cranmer's Catechism.* 8vo. } 1548.
3. *Urban. Regis Epistle to his friend about the causes of Church Controversy.* 8vo. } 1548.
4. *Bern. Ochinus's Dialogue of the unjust Supremacy of the Pope.* 4to. } 1549.
5. *Peter Martyr's Epistle to the Duke of Somerset.* 8vo. 1550.
6. *John Ponet's Sermon before the King.* 8vo. 1550.

XXVIII. WILLIAM HILL. MDXLVIII.

1. *Heron. Bodin's Collection out of St. Austin de Effent. Divinitatis.* 8vo. } 1548.
2. *The Endightement of Mother Mafs, by way of Dialogue.* 8vo. } 1548.
3. *The Soul's solace against Sicknefs & Death.* 8vo. 1548.
4. *Sum of the H. Scripture about Xtian Faith, Baptism, & gospel-life.* 8vo. } 1548.

XXIX. THOMAS RAYNOLD. MDXLVIII

1. *Declaration of God's power in the Sacrament against the Mafs.* 8vo. } 1548.
2. *Lesson of the Incarnation of J. Christ.* 8vo. 1549.
3. *The Bible translated by Tho. Mathews, anno 1537, & new imprinted by Tho. Raynold & Will. Hyll.* } 1549.
4. *John Mardey's Instructions to the Rich and Covetous.* 8vo.

Ad-

Addenda to the Article of GRAFTON.

We are since inform'd that the Edition of the New Testament against which Tyndal justifies himself in the Preface mentioned pag. 370. was a third Edition privately printed under his name in the same year and place by Joyce, and designedly corrupted, in order to make him pass for a Heretick, as he shows in that Preface, which was the occasion of his publishing this second Edition in the same year.

XXX. ANTHONY SCHOLOKER. MDXLVIII.

1. Sermon on the Keys & Absolution. *Englisb'd at Ipswich.* 8vo. 1548.
2. *Zuingliu's* Instructions of Youth. *ibid.* 8vo. 1548.
3. *Scholoker's* Translation of *Peter Viret's* Collection of Scripture-places explaining the Lord's Prayer. 8vo. with *W. Series.* } 1548.
4. *John Olde* of the old Faith of Great Britain. 8vo.
5. *Pyor's* Plowman's Exhortation unto the Lordes, Knightes & Burgoysse of the Parlyment-house. *Lond. temp. Ed. VI.*

XXXI. ROBERT STOUGHTON. MDXLVIII.

1. Two Epistles of *Henry Bullinger*, and two of *Calvin* about assisting at the Mass. 8vo. } 1548.
2. *Urban. Regius's* Comparifon between old and new Learning. 8vo. } 1548.
3. The Censure and Judgement of the famous Clark *Erasmus* of Rotterdam; whyther Dyvoursement betwene Man and Wyfe stondeth with the law of God, with dyvers Causes wherefore it is permitted; with the mynde of the olde Doctoures, &c.
4. *Peter Martyr's* Judgment of the Lord's Supper. 4to.

XXXII. RO-

XXXII. ROBERT CROWLEY. MDXLIX.

an Author and Printer.

1. Voice of the Trumpet, containing 12 Lessons for 12 several estates in meter. } 1549.
2. A New Year's Gift, wherein is taught the knowledge of God, of our self, and the fear of God, worthy to be geven and thankfully receyved by all Christen men. } 1549.
3. Psalter of David. } 1549.
4. Voice of the Trumpet, &c. } 1550.
5. Battery of the Pope's Boteveux, or the high Altar. 8vo. } 1550.
6. The Way to Wealth, teaching a most present remedy for sedition. Wrytten and imprinted by R. Crowley. Lond. } 1550.
7. Lady Eliz. Fane's Psalms and goodly Meditations, with 102 Proverbs. } 1550.
8. Prologue for the understanding of the Bible. *It is by Crowley intituled the Pathway to Knowledge.* 8vo. } 1550.
9. An Information and Petition against the Oppression of the pore Commons of this Realme, &c. to the Parliament. no date.

XXXIII. WILLIAM TILLY. MDXLIX.

Coverdale's Testament. By Wylliam Tilly, dwellynge in St. Anne & Agnes Parishes at Aldrisbgate. } 1549.

XXXIV. RICHARD KELE. MDXLVX.

1. Translation of a Dutch Prognostication out of the Script. and Proph. 8vo. London, Rycharde Kele. } 1549.
2. Image of Both Pastors, by Zuinglius. 8vo. By Richard Kele & W. Seres. } 1550.
3. Exposition on the Epistle of St. Jude. 8vo.

4. Mir-

4. Mirrour or glaſs of Helth, 8vo. nedeful for every perſon to loke in that wyll kepe their Body from the Sykenesse of the Pestylence, and it sheweth how the planets do raygne.

XXXV. ANDREW HESTER. MDL.

The *English Bible* corrected and revised by *Miles Coverdale*. 4to. 1550.

XXXVI. JOHN CAWOOD. MDL.

John Cawode or *Cawood*.——I can find but one of his works extant, tho' he was appointed by the King to print the Patents. His Patent is in *Rymer's Fædera*, and the Book is,

A spiritual and most precious perle, &c. Dedicated to *Edward Duke of Somerset*. A most fruitfull Treatise of behaviour in the danger of Death.
Somerset-Place, 6 May, 1550.

XXXVII. RICHARD JUGGE. MDL.

1. *Tertullian's* 2d. Book to his Wife about the choice of a Husband and Wife. 8vo. } 1550.
2. The New Testament of King *Edward VI*.
3. Whether it be mortal sin to transgreſs the Civil Laws, with the judgement of *Melington* and other Divines thereupon. 8vo.

XXXVIII. RICHARD CHARLTON. MDL.

A Treatise of all the Arguments of the Old and New Testament. 8vo. } 1550.

XXXIX. STEPHEN MIERMAN. MDL.

The Market or Fair of Usurers, a new Pasquil or Dialogue against Usury, &c. 8vo. Lond. by *Steph. Mierman*. } 1550.

XL. JOHN TISDALE.

Sermons on *Jonas*. 8vo.Abridgment of *Polydore Virgil*.

} 1550.

BESIDES these we meet with a Patent in *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XIV. pag. 745, granted to *Stephen Merlar** for the sole printing the *English Bible*. It is dated at *Westminster*, *March 12. an. 1542.* but I never could meet with this Bible, nor any other of his works. I found moreover about half a score more who printed for, or under some of the more eminent masters above mentioned, some of whose works have dates, and others not, beside a very considerable number of other anonymous editions, not worth swelling this list with.

The City of *TORK*. MDXVI.

I have seen in the late Mr. *Rawlinson's* library the following edition printed at *York*, viz.

Whyttintonus de Concinnat. Grammat. & Construct. 4to. *Eboraci* 1516.

THIS is the only one I have seen or heard of printed there so early, and did not the Types convince me of its being an ancient piece, I should have thought that the date had been misprinted, *i. e.* 1516 for 1616.

At *CAMBRIDGE*. MDXXI.

THIS University seems to have given but small encouragement to the Art of Printing, either by the earliness of its reception, or the continuance of it there. Mr. *Maittaire* tells us that he has not been able to meet with any thing printed there of earlier date than 1521, and all that either he, the late Mr. *Bagford*, or any of my correspondents from thence have been able to procure, is only four editions, all printed in the same year, by *John Siberch*, and one in 1522 without Printer's name, though probably done by him. This *Siberch* used to put the King's arms to the title of his books, and to style himself in some of them, *Primus utriusq; linguæ in Anglia impressor*, meaning *Greek* and *Latin*.

These

These Editions are as follows;

1. Libellus de conscribendis Epistolis Autore D. Erasmo opus olim ab eodem cæptum, sed primâ manu, mox expoliri cæptum sed intermissum, Nunc primum prodit in lucem.

Apud præclaram Cantabrigiensem Academiam.

Cum gratiâ & privilegio.

At the End,

Impressum Cantabrigiæ per Joannem Siberch,

Anno MD XXI. mense Octobri.

It is dedicated by J. Siberch, Cantabrigiensis Typographus to J. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

1521.

2. Henry Bullock's Oration against Cardinal Wolsey, by ditto. ib. 1521.

3. Lepidissimum.

Luciani opusculum περί ἀσκήσεων

Henrico Bulloco interprete

Oratio ejusdem cum annotationibus marginalibus

Ex præclara Academiâ Cantabrigiensi An. MD XXI.

At the End,

Impressum est hoc opusculum Cantabrigiæ per Joannem Siberch, &c.

4. Galeni de temperamentis & de inequali intemperie libri tres. Thoma Linacro Anglo interprete. 4to. per Jo. Siberch, apud præclaram Cantabrigiam.

1521.

5. Papyrii Gemini Eleatis Hermathena, seu de Eloquentiæ victoria. 4to. ex præclara Cantabrigiâ.

1522.

Tavistock in Devonshire. MD XXV.

The Boke of Confort called in laten Boetius de consolatione philosophie. Translated into Englesse tonge.

At the End thus,

Here endeth the boke of Confort called in latyn Boecius de consolatione phil. Empremented in the exempt Monastery of Tavestok in Densbyre

C c c 2

by

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by me *Thomas Rychard* Monk of the said Monastery. To the instant
desyre of the ryght worshypful Esquier Mayster *Robert Langdon*.

Anno D' MDXXV.

Deo gratias

Robertus ☞ *Langdon*.

This is supposed to have been Esq; *Langdon's* Mark.

JOHN OSWIN at *Ipswich* and *Worcester*. MDXLVIII.

1. Mind or Opinion what a Xtian ought to do that duells with } 1548.
the Papists. 8vo. By *John Oswin* at *Ipswich*.
2. *Christopher Hegendorphine's* household Sermons. *Englisb'd* at } 1548.
Ipswich. 8vo.
3. Of the true Authority of the Church. *ibid*. 16°. 1548.
4. *John Ecolampadius's* Epistle against respect to persons. 16°. } 1548.
ibid.
5. Invective against Drunkenness. *ibid*. no date.
6. *Hegendorphine's* household Sermons. 8vo. at *Worcester*. 1549.
7. The Book of Common Prayer, &c. fol. *ibid*. 1549.
8. Spiritual Matrimony between Xt and his Church. 16°. *ibid*. 1549.
9. Consolatory for all Xtians. 8vo. *ibid*. 1549.
10. Dialogue between the seditious Anabaptist and the true Xtian } 1550.
about Obedience to Magistrates, &c. 8vo. *ibid*.
11. Short Pathway to understand the Scriptures. *Englisb'd* by } 1550.
John Vernon. 8vo. *ibid*.
12. *St. Ambrose* of Oppression. Translated by *John Oswin*; intituled
Poor *Naboth* oppressed by rich *Ahab*. no place's name.

JOHN

JOHN MYCHEL.

THOUGH this Printer put no dates to these few Editions of his I have been able to meet with, yet they seem both by the language, types, &c. to be older by much than 1550.

1. Two Dialogues of *Erasmus* in *Englisb*. Translated by *Ed. Beke*. 8vo. Emprynted by me *John Mychel*, dwellynge in *St. Paules Parysh* in *Canterbury*. 8vo.
2. *Randal Hurleston's* Dialogue against the *Papists*. 8vo. at *Canterbury*.
3. *Lan. Ridley* of *Canterbury's* Exposition of the Epistle to the *Philippians*. 8vo.

N. B. I designed to have enlarged this Catalogue with the compleat list of all the curious editions of the most ancient Printers, such as printed only from Manuscripts, as I have seen in my *Lord Pembroke's* library, &c. but am glad to find that *Mr. Maittaire* has been beforehand with me in favouring the world with it in his *Annales Typographici*.

IN the conclusion of the second book of this History, pag. 257. I ventur'd to affirm after *Orlandi* and other Annalists, that the invention of engraving began much about the same time with that of Printing; but I have been since convinced, that the former began much earlier, from a curious collection which my *Lord Pembroke* was pleased to show me, in which the whole progress of that invention is set down in writing under each print. Having therefore obtain'd his Lordship's leave to copy it from his own book, and to give it a place in this work, I think I cannot better conclude this History than by obliging the curious with this valuable collection.

A N

A P P E N D I X

To the GENERAL HISTORY of

P R I N T I N G of B O O K S:

BEING AN

A D D I T I O N A L H I S T O R Y

O F T H E

R I S E and P R O G R E S S of P R I N T S,

Which are Incus'd.

Exactly copy'd from the R. H. the Earl of *Pembroke's* curious Book of those P R I N T S, in which each Piece hath its own particular account of its manner, &c. in Manuscript, in a right progressive order, as follows.

1. **A** N T O N I O P O L L A I O L O nat. 1426. ob. 1498. *Baldinucci* says that he engraved the Battle at *Florence* about 1460, and that *Andrea Montegna* graved his Triumph at *Rome* soon after his being there. They both graved upon Pewter. The former printed his name on it thus, *Opus Antonij Pollaiololo Florentini*.

2. *Israel van Meckenem* his own Effigies.

3. This

3. This *Israel van Meckenem* is by some authors called *Van Mecklin* & *Mentz* & *Moguntin*. *Lomazero* says he was the first that engraved; he was Master to *Bon Martino*, who was Master to *Albert Durer*, whose first Print was a Copy after this of *Israel's* an. 1497. and as *Baldinucci* says *Israel* did not engrave till he had seen the Triumph of *Ant. Montegno*, anno 1467, which is the oldest date that any author has mention'd, and the termination being *Spanish*, shows that the art spread very soon.

4. *A. M.* was, as is supposed, *Andrea de Murano* 1412. This Print is upon that mixt metal on which Goldsmiths used to engrave their first proofs. It is now likewise used by other artists. Founders call it the hard metal, and Printers the Type-metal, tho' the latter has a greater proportion of Iron. The other materials are Lead, Block-tin, and Regulus of Antimony. *Albert Durer* began by copying of old Prints, as you will see when you come to him; this Print is older than that of 1467, which stands by it, which was taken to be the oldest of any one with a date by the author, who mentions this for want of knowing of that. As for the year 1412 above-mention'd it agrees with the time in which *A. de Murano* flourish'd; and *Baldinucci* speaks in one place as if other authors were uncertain how near 1400 the invention of Prints was. Yet he seems to say that *Maso Finiguerra* was not long before *Pollaiuolo*, who follow'd *Baccio Baldini*, who imitated *Maso* the inventor of Prints, by taking off some from engraved silver work to see the impression: but, unless he did so some years before, this Print must be older.

5. *Andrea Montegna* N. 1431. an. 1517. The next after *Pollaiuolo* who engraved in *Italy*. His best works were after the Antique. But this first is none of the nine which he composed from the Antiques.

6. The sixth in order of his painting. This is his original Print; they have since finished (within these outlines) the Prints that are commonly fold for it.

7. This was printed when they used the smoke of a candle instead of mp-black ink.

8. *Mich.*

8. *Mich. Angelo* on silk. This is only from a drawing, the painting of which has much more in it, and is to be seen in my Lord's Gallery. This is the first Print that is not upon Paper.

9. The *Suavius* was the first Print done on two Copper-plates. This Print, besides the blue ground, has the figure of old *Time* clipping *Cupid's* wings. After this *Perrier* did engrave this, and then the five more on three Copper-plates, as *Carpi* did upon wood.

10. The Head of *Lutma* the Father, done with the hammer; the black and white disposed contrary to *Mezotinto*. *Per Janum Lutma*.

11. In this *John Lutma* has added graving to the hammering.

12. *Jacobus Lutma* mixed etching with engraving.

13. *Venus* and *Mavors* (*Mars*) by *Joannes Collaert*.

This is the only Print that ever was graved on Steel.

14. *Dominico Campagnola*, the first that printed with red on a black ground.

15. This manner, which was invented in *Germany*, differs from all Prints, because the ink rises upon the paper.

16. This, done by *J. S.* (as in the shield) came from *Venice*; the lines are not engraved, but made by Points.

17. Four *Mezotinto's* varying from the common manner of those Prints. In this the figure (our Saviour on the Cross) is engraved, the rest is done in *Mezotinto*, the other three are each in a different colour.

18. Mr. *Tayler* a Painter, who improved the printing of Stuffs in *Holland*, he invented this Art of printing in colours; and Mr. *Le Blond* (though he might take the hint from this) has further improved it by printing his pieces so as to look like painting; the first that he did in this kind was after the *Baroccio* in my Lord *Pembroke's* gallery.

19. The first Print of *Martin Schöen*, (*al. Chon*, as the *French* write and pronounce it) and called *Bon Martino* by the *Italians*, *Bon* being a kind of a translation of *Schöen*; which in the *High-German* signifies fine
beau-

beautiful. *Martin* was Master to *Albert Durer*, but learned his Art at first by copying after the Print next to it of *Israel van Meckenem*.

20. *Israel van Meckenem*. This is the only one of his that has the place's name, viz. *Tzù* (at) *Boackholt*.

21. The first Print of *Albert Durer* 1497, which is a Copy after *Israel's*. He engraved this also upon Pewter.

Albert Durer nat. 1470, ob. 1528, was famous for cutting on Wood, and all other manners of engraving, as may be seen by these four that follow, viz.

1st. Engraved on Pewter, which was his first manner.

2d. Cut on Wood, and on three planches.

3d. Engraved on Copper, in which he was the first and the best, and was imitated by *Mark Antonio*.

4th. Etched, being the first of that kind.

22. *Maso Finiguerra*, a Goldsmith at *Florence*, the inventor of Prints, tho' he made no Print till after *A. Pollaiuolo*. *Albert Durer* copy'd this so as to stand the same way as the Original. They stand each by the other in the book.

23. *Albert Durer* made this piece in imitation of the oldest Print, which was graved, anno 1412.

24. This bears the oldest date of all his, whether on Wood or Copper.

This is also dated 1502, but the mark differs from his usual mark.

25. If *Hugo Carpi* was the inventor of Printing upon three planches, he must have been very young; for he was but 18 years old when *A. Durer* did this in 1522, which is the Head of *Ulricus Varnbuler* very large from three planches, with his own name to it *Albert Durer*.

26. The first Print etch'd upon Iron by *A. Durer*.

27. Another of his of anno 1518, in which he perfected the Art of etching on Iron, even before *Parmigiano*; tho' this last in *Italy* is affirmed to have been the first Etcher.

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28. *Albert Durer* before he uſed a mark, the manner of this is that of his Maſter.

29. The firſt Print on Copper by *A. Durer*, with his mark before he began to date; this is his firſt manner.

30. This is without croſs-strokes; *Melaine's* manner is a fine improvement of this.

31. This piece is dated 1502, and bears the oldeſt date either on Copper or Wood.

32. One of 1504. This *Adam* and *Eve* were the chief of his laſt manner, vaſtly neat, and imitated by *Marc Antonio* in *Germany*. This is reckoned more ſcarce than his *St. Jerom*.

33. The *St. Jerom*. This the *Bolonia* edition of *Vaſari* calls *La Maraviglia*, or the prodigy of Art.

34. The laſt piece that *Durer* engrav'd. It is the head of *Erasmus*, and is dated 1526.

35. A Crucifix engraved on a golden head of the Emperor's Cane. It was ſold for 150 Guilders, and is the only Print taken from Gold; that of *An. Caracci* is only from a ſilver ſalver. My Lord has it: there is but this one Print of it, which he took off as a proof before it was gilt.

36. The famous Bag-piper by *Lucas van Leyden*. This is the Original, which was ſold for 60 Duccatoons. The Copy, which ſtands next to it, is pretty ſcarce. Theſe two, and that on the gold cane, were on one Cartoon in the *Arundel* Collection.

N. B. *Incused* is the proper term to ſignify thoſe plates which bear the ink between the lines of the graving, as *excused* is of thoſe that have it on the face of the line. Thus the prints in the *Paginae Conglutinatæ* were *excused*, but thoſe of *Albert Durer* *incused*, he being the firſt inventor of this manner, as being cheaper, and eaſier cut than upon copper.

The

The following is a List of XVI Volumes of DRAWINGS and PRINTS in the same Library relating to the same subject as the former, and copy'd from the Manuscript-Titles of the Books themselves.

THESE DRAWINGS and PRINTS consist but of a very few, in comparison of many numerous collections; for here are chiefly *Italian* designs, and only one of each master, to see the variety of manners, except of the most noted *Italian* masters a pretty many, and all of such *Italian* Painters, as also themselves graved, etched, or cut in Wood: of original Drawings here are but two volumes of 220; *Italian* Painters (except a few who were also esteem'd in *Italy*) in a chronological order. The 1st Vol. has 200 Painters, one of each; the 2d Vol. has 20 of the chief Painters, of each five, but of *Rafael Urbin* and *Correggio* 20 of each. As to Prints, *Marolles* had more than 50 times as many. In his 1st book he says he had above 120,000; and in his 2d he added about 50,000 more. (The King of *France* has since bought them). But he gathered all, and of all sorts that he could find, well or ill preserv'd: as for intire books graved, there are very many, but here are only those of *Italian* Painters, antiquities excepted; as for loose Prints, only 14 volumes, as follows.

IN the first 4 volumes of Prints are above 1500, each by a different master, ending with *Edelinck*, *Andran*, and their disciples, engraving and etching being brought to perfection by them.

Vol. III. but the first of PRINTS.

Part I. The Introduction comprehends the first inventors of all the different manners, many of them now disus'd, or the Art lost.

Part II. Gravers, all of *Italian* Pictures.

Vol. IV.

Part 1. Etchers,
2. Cut on Wood, } all of *Italian* Pictures.
3. Mezotinto,

D d d 2

Vol.

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Vol. V.

Gravers by Pictures of other nations not *Italian*.

Vol. VI.

Part 1. Etchers,
2. Cut in Wood, } by Pictures of other nations not *Italian*.
3. Mezzotinto,

Vol. VII.

The 17 chief Gravers, their principal Prints all after *Italian* Paintings of *Rafael Urbin*, and all that they graved.

Vol. VIII.

23 Etchers, who were also Painters; and at the end are all that *Ang. Caracci* graved, the other two *Caracci's* being in this book.

Vol. IX.

12 More noted Etchers who were also Painters; most of these are famous for Landskips, and some also for little figures.

Vol. X.

The 5 chief Artists who cut in Wood, and only after great *Italian* Painters, all that they did both single, and as intire books.

Vol. XI.

All these are after *Rafael Urbin* by many Gravers and Etchers, different from those before-mention'd, at the end of which are many Drawings by *Santo Bartholi*, after such of *Rafael's* Pictures as were never graved, he intending, had he liv'd, to have graved them, they were sold by his Widow. Of *Raphael* and the following three, here are collections of single Prints also, the other great Painters have been graved chiefly in entire books.

Vol.

A List of Drawings and Prints. 397

Vol. XII.

All these are after *Correggio*, both single Prints, and as entire books.

Vol. XIII.

All these are after *Guido Rbeni* of single Prints.

Vol. XIV.

All these are after *Barocci*: but the 2d part is of the *Arundel* collection, only of the *Italian* historical Pictures or Drawings.

Vol. XV. in two parts.

The heads of *Vandyke*, both those which he etched himself, and that were done by others, of which here are above 300. Part I. hath 100 of them, 19 of which are etched by *Vandyke*, the rest of the 100 are of M. *Vander Enden*.

Vol. XVI.

Single Prints of Antiquities, and chiefly those by *Lafreri*, being by the largest scale, as well as before they were mended, and some are also as mended, by which one may compare what parts were truly antique; I have also the book of *Lafreri* with the Title-page, but tho' scarce, and of an old date, yet after these, some body got an imperfect collection of some of his Plates, and mix'd them with others of less value.

These Volumes of DRAWINGS and PRINTS my Lord tells me were collected by his Father, except some few, agreeable to his design, which were afterwards added by my Lord himself, especially such as related to the origine of Prints.

A N

A N

ALPHABETICAL and CHRONOLOGICAL

T A B L E

Of all the CITIES and PLACES in which the

ART of PRINTING

Began to be exercis'd before the Year 1500,
and in ENGLAND to 1550.

*The first Number is the Date of their first known Edition,
and the second is the Page in which they are mention'd.*

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Alban St.	1486	—327	Barcelona	1494	—256
Alost	1487	—215	Basil	1475	—216
Amberg	1471	—191	Bergamo	1498	—257
Angoulesme	1493	—256	Boisseduc	1487	—253
Antwerp	1485	—250	Bolonia	1471	—186
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Argentina, al. Stratz- burg & Argentoratum	1458	{ 183 299	Brudges	1477	—231
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D.

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alias <i>Deventria</i>		
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PL

1732

